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SANCTI AUGUSTINI VITA SCRIPTA A POSSIDIO EPISCOPO

EDITED WITH REVISED TEXT, INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND AN ENGLISH VERSION

BY

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PREFACE

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H. T. W.

Princeton, New Jersey,
June 11, 1918.

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INTRODUCTION

Our knowledge of the life of Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, is derived from two main sources: (1) Augustine's own *Confessiones,* covering the period up to the time of his conversion in 387 and setting forth chiefly the history of his spiritual development, and (2) the *Vita Augustini* of Possidius, covering the time from Augustine's conversion to his death in 430 and containing a record of his daily life and activities. Outside of these two main sources many references also occur in his other writings, chiefly in the Epistles.

Sources for the Life of Augustine

Aurelius Augustinus was born at Tagaste in Numidia on November 13, 354,[1] about seven years after Chrysostom and fourteen after Jerome and Ambrose. After spending a free and careless boyhood at Tagaste, he pursued the usual course of grammar and rhetoric at Madaura and Carthage and afterward taught for a short time in his native town. In 374 he returned to Carthage and taught rhetoric for nine years. During this period he became deeply interested in Manichaeanism, merely as an *auditor,* however, and not as one of the *electi.* It was here he met the famous Manichaean teacher Faustus from whom he expected much, but soon found that, despite his gorgeous rhetoric, he was unable to answer any searching questions. Dissatisfied with his life at Carthage and seeking a larger career, he went to Rome. Moreover he had heard that the students of Rome were better behaved than those at Carthage.

Early Life

[1] Prosper, in his *Chronicon,* states that Augustine died August 28, 430; Possidius says it was in the third month of the siege of Hippo, and also that he died at the age of seventy-six. Augustine himself gives the day of his birth: *Idibus Novembris mihi natalis dies erat: De Beata Vita* i 6.

Among the latter were those known as *eversores,* who went about in groups, broke into classes, overthrew the benches and provoked disorder in general. So in spite of the tearful entreaties of his mother Monica, he evaded her and by night secretly took ship for Italy. However, when he arrived in Rome he soon discovered that while his students kept better order, they had a custom which was to prove most annoying to him. For after they had attended his classes a while they would go off to another teacher and leave their fees unpaid. Accordingly when the way was opened for him to teach in Milan he went there without delay.

By this time he had abandoned Manichaeanism and was taken for a short time with the scepticism of the New Academy. In Milan he soon became engrossed in studying Neo-Platonism and also came under the influence of Ambrose, Bishop of that city. After a memorable moral and intellectual struggle he was converted to the Christian faith and baptized by Ambrose at Easter 387. He then returned to Tagaste, travelling with his mother who died on the way at Ostia. On arriving at Tagaste he lived in seclusion till he was made presbyter in the church at Hippo in 391. At this point the narrative of Possidius begins.

Augustine's father Patricius was a man of curial rank in rather humble circumstances. He was of a somewhat coarse and sensual temper, given to occasional fits of anger, but generally easy-going. He was anxious that his son should distinguish himself as a lawyer and even borrowed money to enable him to study at Carthage. Aside from this, however, Patricius seems to have paid little heed to his welfare and training. He had not been a Christian up to the time of his son's departure for Carthage, but through the influence of his wife Monica became a catechumen about the year 370 and was baptized shortly before his death in the following year.

Family

Monica, the mother of Augustine, is forever revered in Christian history. Augustine was not ignorant of her religion,

for she had trained him in his childhood,[2] but it soon slipped from his memory when he went away to school. From this time to his conversion in 387, while he was trying one philosophy after another, Monica did not cease to hope and pray that her son would yet become a Christian, though she was at one time unwilling to have him with her in the house because of his outspoken contempt for the Christian faith.[3] He says that she wept more bitterly over his spiritual death than other mothers over the bodily death of their children.[4] When, in spite of her entreaties, he stole away and took ship for Italy, she would not leave him but followed all the way to Milan, where she constantly attended the sermons of the statesman-bishop Ambrose. With Augustine's conversion her mission on earth was ended[5] and she saw nothing of his later far-reaching influence, for she died at Ostia in the fall of that same year. Augustine's tribute to his mother[6] is one of the most perfect and touching in literature.

Augustine was not the only child. He had a brother, Navigius[7] and one sister referred to in his letter to the nuns.[8] Possidius also mentions her.[9] Though her name is not known, tradition gives it as Perpetua.[10] Whether Augustine had any other brothers or sisters is not certain. His natural son Adeodatus, born about 372, gave promise of marked ability, but died in his youth.[11] He was baptized with his father in 387. The names of several other relatives outside the circle of his immediate family appear in his writings. In the *De Beata*

[2] *Religionis verissimae semina mihi a pueritia salubriter insita: De Duabus Animabus* i 1.
[3] *Conf.* III xi 19.
[4] *Conf.* III xi 19.
[5] *Conf.* IX x 26.
[6] *Conf.* IX ix-x.
[7] *De Beata Vita* i 6 and *Conf.* IX xi 27.
[8] *Ep.* CCXI 4.
[9] *Vita* XXVI.
[10] Bollandistes, *Vies des Saints* V 306.
[11] *Conf.* IX vi 14.

Vita i 6 he speaks of two cousins, Lastidianus and Rusticus, who took part in the discussions at Cassiciacum and in *Serm.* CCCLVI 3 he mentions, without naming him, a nephew who was a *subdiaconus*. *Ep.* LII is written to another cousin, Severinus, urging him to leave the Donatists and return to the Catholic Church. Besides these Possidius writes of *fratris sui filiae* in Chapter XXVI—a phrase which also seems to prove that Augustine had only one brother.

Friends

In speaking of Augustine's friends we mean only the most intimate. They are to be found in two groups, the earlier at the Villa of Cassiciacum, near Milan, to which Augustine and his friends retired during the months immediately preceding his baptism, and the later group at Hippo. Chief among these friends was his fellow-townsman and life-long companion Alypius, who accompanied him through the years of uncertainty at Carthage and Milan and faithfully reflected each of Augustine's changes of faith. After living with Augustine in the monastery at Hippo for several years, he became bishop of his native town Tagaste. The group at Cassiciacum was small and most intimate, consisting of Monica, who not infrequently took part in the debate, Adeodatus, Navigius, Alypius, the two cousins Lastidianus and Rusticus mentioned above, and two pupils, Trygetius and Licentius,[12] a son of his former patron Romanianus.[13] They spent the time studying and discussing questions of religion and philosophy. The other circle of friends which calls for special mention is found in the monastery at Hippo. Here Possidius and others[14] first appear in Augustine's life. Their intimate manner of life is described

[12] *Contra Academicos* I i 4; *De Beata Vita* i 6; *De Ordine* I ii 5.

[13] Nebridius, another close friend, does not seem to have been at Cassiciacum, though associated with Augustine both in Carthage and Milan. He died a Christian not long after Augustine's baptism (*Conf.* IX iii 6).

[14] Severus, Evodius, Profuturus and Urbanus. See also Chap. XI, note 1.

by Possidius[15] and even more satisfactorily in two of Augustine's sermons.[16]

The Monastery

This monastery which had its beginning at Tagaste and was later established at Hippo when Augustine became presbyter there, was the first one in North Africa and the parent of the other North African monasteries. Possidius states[17] that the bishops who went out from this monastery at Hippo followed their master's example and established other monasteries in their episcopal sees. Augustine's original purpose had been merely to withdraw from the world with a few friends and have time for undisturbed meditation and prayer. He pursued this kind of life for almost three years at Tagaste (388-391) until he was forcibly ordained presbyter at Hippo. After that he continued his purpose, but adapting it to circumstances, made the monastery rather a school for the training of the clergy. His conception of the kind of life the clergy should lead is clearly set forth in two of his sermons.[18] He also established a monastery for women over which his sister presided, and after her death in 423 wrote them a letter[19] to settle their differences and to guide them in the conduct of life.

In reviewing the life of Possidius,[20] the first fact to be noted is that, apart from his relations with Augustine, he is practically unknown. He first appears as one of the group of intimate friends whom Augustine gathered around him in the monastery at Hippo and is mentioned only once after Augus-

[15] *Vita* XXII-XXVI.
[16] *Sermm.* CCCLV, CCCLVI.
[17] *Vita* XI.
[18] *Sermm.* CCCLV and CCCLVI.
[19] *Ep.* CCXI.
[20] His name, Possidius, is not to be confounded with Possidonius, a bishop who appears at some of the councils and who, in conjunction with Possidius, signed the letter addressed by the Council of Milevum to Pope Innocent I (*Ep.* CLXXVI). Manuscript evidence proves that Possidius, not Possidonius, is the name of Augustine's biographer.

Life of Possidius

tine's death.[21] Possidius himself states at the very close of the *Vita* that he had lived with Augustine on terms of intimate friendship for "almost forty years." Augustine was made Presbyter at Hippo in 391 and "soon after"[22] established his monastery. As this was thirty-nine years before Augustine's death, Possidius must have become connected with the monastery at the very beginning or soon after. Where he came from and how he came to enter the monastery must remain matters of conjecture, but it seems fair to suppose that he came from Hippo or the immediate neighborhood.

The date of Possidius's birth, also, may be arrived at only approximately. As he was still living and performing his episcopal duties seven years after the death of Augustine,[23] who lived to be seventy-six,[24] he was in all likelihood younger than his teacher and friend. When he entered the monastery, therefore, he was probably not over thirty, as Augustine was then thirty-five. Moreover he was probably at least twenty, in view of the fact that he soon became Augustine's intimate friend. This would accordingly fix the date of his birth somewhere between the years 360 and 370.

In 397, probably within a short time after the death of Megalius, Bishop of Calama and Primate of Numidia, Possidius succeeded to this episcopate, though not to the primacy, as that was an office of seniority, not of locality, in the African Church. From this time till his activities were temporarily checked by the invasion of the Vandals, he seems to have led a not unusual life for a North African bishop of the fifth century, journeying to the various parts of his diocese, attending councils and defending the Church against the attacks of heretics.

About the year 403 Possidius made two attempts to arrange

[21] Prosper, *Chronicon,* PL 51, 597 (PL = *Patrologia Latina*).
[22] *Vita* V.
[23] Prosper, *Chronicon,* PL 51, 597.
[24] *Vita* XXXI.

a public discussion with Crispinus, the Donatist bishop of Calama, which the latter each time avoided. A few days after the second refusal, while Possidius was travelling through his diocese, another Crispinus, a Donatist presbyter and perhaps a relative of the bishop Crispinus, attacked him, setting fire to the house in which he took refuge. As the bishop Crispinus did not even reprove his presbyter for this unprovoked attack, the Catholics took the matter into court and Crispinus, the bishop, was fined. Through the intervention of Possidius this fine was not exacted. Nevertheless Crispinus was not satisfied and carried his appeal to the Emperor Honorius. Thereupon, as Augustine had likewise narrowly escaped an ambuscade laid for him by the Donatists not long before, a council which met at Carthage in 404 decided to appeal to the Emperor for protection.[25] In 405, accordingly, Honorius issued an edict[26] renewing the laws of Theodosius against heretics, directing furthermore that Crispinus should be fined ten pounds of gold and that the judge and court should suffer the same penalty for not having collected the fine before. This fine, however, through the intercession of Possidius, was likewise remitted.[27]

In 407 Possidius and Augustine, with five other bishops, were appointed as a committee to decide some ecclesiastical question, but no further record has been preserved.[28] In the following year, during a riot brought about by the celebrations of the pagans, Possidius narrowly escaped with his life. On November 15, 407, Honorius had made the public celebration of heathen rites and festivals illegal.[29] On June 1, 408, however, which was the pagan feast-day, as Augustine relates,[30] in violation of this law the pagans of Calama performed their rites and marched past the Christian church. As no one inter-

[25] Mansi III 794.
[26] *Cod. Theod.* XVI 5, 38.
[27] *Vita* XII; *Contra Cresconium* III xlvi 50; *Ep.* CV 4.
[28] Mansi III 806.
[29] *Cod. Theod.* XVI 5, 41.
[30] *Ep.* XCI 8.

fered and as the insult could not be tolerated, the clergy attempted to stop the celebration, but were driven back into the church and assailed with stones. Possidius did not allow this to pass unnoticed and carried the case before the proper authorities who promised to exact the penalty imposed by the law. About June 9, however, before anything had been done, the pagans again attacked the church with stones. On the following day, accordingly, Possidius and his people took the matter to court but were refused admittance. A few hours later the church was a third time besieged, and not being satisfied with the damage they could do with stones, the pagans tried to burn the buildings together with the people in them. One man was killed and Possidius escaped only by hiding in a narrow crevice while the pagans roamed about in search of him. According to Augustine they were much disappointed, since their chief desire was to do away with the bishop. The uproar was finally quieted by a stranger who seemed to have gained some influence with them. Through his efforts the captives were set free and much plunder returned. Augustine himself journeyed to Calama to comfort the people and to admonish and, if possible, convert the pagans, but evidently without much success. An edict[31] issued by Honorius in November of the same year, directing that the images and altars of the pagans be destroyed and their temples be confiscated for public use, was no doubt provoked by this disturbance.

To this period belong Possidius's two journeys to Italy. Though only one is generally mentioned, there were evidently two. The first was occasioned by the recent pagan uprising[32] and took place after July 408 and before March 27, 409. This date is made clear by a letter of Augustine in which he says that on March 27 he received an answer to a letter he had written about eight months before, when Possidius had

[31] *Cod. Theod.* XVI 10, 19.

[32] Compare the words of Augustine: *cum ex ipso audieritis quam tristis eum causa compulerit: Ep.* XCV 1.

not yet embarked on his voyage.[33] From this letter it would also appear that Possidius was expected to return shortly, for Augustine suggests that possibly the citizens of Calama had heard a rumor that Possidius had obtained authority to punish them more severely (*severius*),[34] though no such report had as yet reached him.

The other visit to the imperial court was on an embassy appointed by a council which met at Carthage on July 1, 410.[35] The purpose of this embassy was to secure the renewal of the laws against the Donatists which had been temporarily suspended.[36] Possidius and his colleagues seem to have accomplished their purpose, for in August 410 Honorius issued a decree[37] warning heretics and pagans not to hold public meetings and declaring confiscation of property or even death as the penalty for violation of the law.

At the great *Collatio* of 411 between the Catholics and Donatists assembled at Carthage by order of the Emperor, Possidius played a rather prominent part. Two hundred and eighty-six Catholic bishops were present. From this number seven were chosen to carry on the discussion, among whom were Augustine, Possidius and Alypius,[38] although the debate was carried on almost entirely by Augustine. Possidius ap-

[33] *Nam ego rescripseram, cum adhuc nobiscum esset, neque navigasset sanctus frater et coepiscopus meus Possidius. Has autem quas mei causa illi dignatus es reddere, accepi vi kal. April, post menses ferme octo, quam scripseram: Ep.* CIV 1.

[34] More severely, no doubt, than they had already been punished by the edict of Honorius in the preceding November.

[35] Mansi III 810. There seems to be some confusion as to this date. In the Acts of the Councils it is given as *Honorii VIII et Theodosii IV*. However, to agree with the *Fasti Consulares* (ed. W. Liebenam, pp. 41-42) it ought to read *Honorii VIII et Theodosii III,* and this could apply to either 409 or 410. Accordingly 410 has been adopted as being the more probable. This date is also given in the margin of Mansi's edition, though 409 is given in the index.

[36] *Cod. Theod.* XVI 5, 47.

[37] *Cod. Theod.* XVI 5, 51.

[38] Mansi IV 8.

pears at two other councils. At that of Milevum in 416[39] he joined with other bishops in signing a letter,[40] written probably by Augustine, to Innocent I, calling attention to the newborn Pelagian heresy and requesting that it be suppressed. Shortly afterwards, together with his old friends of the monastery at Hippo, Augustine, Alypius, Evodius and one outsider, Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage, he signed another letter[41] to Innocent, urging that this same heresy be formally denounced. The other council, though it is scarcely to be dignified by so important a name, was that held at Caesarea in 418, to which the Donatist bishop Emeritus was invited.[42]

When the Vandals invaded Africa in 428, Calama was one of the many towns which fell into their hands. Possidius took refuge with Augustine at Hippo, one of the three cities which still maintained their independence. There he witnessed the death of Augustine in 430 and remained till the siege of Hippo was abandoned by the Vandals in 431.[43] By or before the time an agreement was reached in 435 between the Roman Emperor and the Arian Geiseric, Possidius no doubt returned to his former charge, where he probably remained unmolested as long as he performed his duties quietly and did not attract the attention of the Arian authorities. In 437, however, when Geiseric endeavored to substitute Arianism for the Catholic faith, Possidius and several other bishops were driven from their sees because they refused to yield to the demands of the Vandal ruler.[44] This is the last we hear of Possidius. He may have gone to Italy, but there is no evidence to that effect. He is honored by the Catholic Church on May 17.

Were it not for Possidius's own statement in the last paragraph of the *Vita,* we should probably not recognize so readily

[39] Mansi IV 335.
[40] *Ep.* CLXXVI.
[41] *Ep.* CLXXVII.
[42] *De Gestis cum Emerito* PL 43, 697; *Vita* XIV.
[43] *Vita* XXVIII.
[44] Prosper, *Chronicon,* PL 51, 597.

the intimacy which existed between the two bishops. Among Augustine's letters there is only one[45] addressed to Possidius and that is merely an answer to a question on discipline, such as might have been written to any stranger who had asked for advice. It was written in great haste and there is nothing in it to indicate any particular friendship. However, he spent much time in company with Augustine. For the first five or six years of their acquaintance he lived in that intimacy of daily companionship which makes or breaks a friendship as nothing else can, dwelling in the same house, eating at the same table, sharing in the same duties and experiencing the same trials and temptations. On one occasion he tells of a conversation at the table, then of a convert who came to see Augustine and, *nobis coram,* declared his former guilt and asked for their prayers. Again, we hear of Augustine's righteous indignation when some friends who were visiting disregarded his prohibition of gossip.[46] There are many instances of this intimate nature.

His Intimacy with Augustine

After Possidius left the monastery at Hippo to take up his duties as bishop of Calama he was by no means separated from his friend. Calama was only about forty miles distant from Hippo and the two bishops found many opportunities of seeing each other. Now they are attending the same council, or are together on a special committee, or are side by side in a debate with the heretics, or Possidius is visiting Augustine. Finally, when Calama was taken by the Vandals, Possidius withdrew to Hippo and was with Augustine all through his last illness and at the time of his death. None of the other members of that monastery, save Alypius only, is associated with Augustine as frequently as is Possidius.

Besides the above-mentioned letter addressed to Possidius and those cited in this account of Possidius's life, there are several other references to him in Augustine's writings. Prob-

[45] *Ep.* CCXLV. The date of this letter is uncertain.
[46] *Vita* XV, XXII.

Augustine's References to Possidius

ably the most significant of these is found in *Ep.* CI, addressed to a certain Bishop Memor, in which Augustine discloses his affection for Possidius by calling him "no small image of my own self": *Nimis autem ingratum ac ferreum fuit, ut te qui nos sic amas, hic sanctus frater et collega noster Possidius, in quo nostram non parvam praesentiam reperies, vel non disceret, vel sine litteris nostris disceret. Est enim per nostrum ministerium non litteris illis, quas variarum servi libidinum liberales vocant, sed dominico pane nutritus, quantus ei potuit per nostras angustias dispensari.* This is Augustine's fullest reference to Possidius and as it agrees so well with Possidius's own statements it serves to confirm our faith in him. Another letter written about this same time, while not so pertinent, still deserves notice. It begins in this manner: *Cum vos fratres nostri coniunctissimi nobis, quos nobiscum desiderati desiderare et salutati resalutare consuestis, assidue vident, non tam augentur bona nostra, quam consolantur mala.*[47] Though Augustine may here be speaking in general terms, yet he means Possidius in particular, for he at once proceeds to name him as the person he has in mind. The other references to Possidius are of less importance and need only to be indicated. He concludes *Ep.* CXXXVII to Volusianus with a greeting from Possidius who is evidently visiting him, and in the *De Civitate Dei* XXII viii he speaks of a cure supposed to have been effected by a relic which the bishop of Calama had brought to that city.

Because of this prolonged and intimate friendship, Possidius was peculiarly fitted for the task he undertook. He had observed Augustine's daily life continuously for at least five years. He had seen him in the various phases of his work as teacher and administrator: instructing the people or the clergy or managing the funds of the church, or caring for the poor and the widows or judging the disputes of his parishioners.

His peculiar Fitness for his Task

[47] *Ep.* XCV.

He had seen him faithful in his secular responsibilities, yet escaping them whenever possible and eagerly turning his attention to spiritual matters. He knew his habits of dress and food and had shared in his strict monastic asceticism. Later, himself a bishop, Possidius had seen Augustine as a leader among his fellow-bishops at the councils and as the Church's ablest defender against heresies. He was constantly in touch with his great master and friend and at no time throughout the thirty-eight or thirty-nine years of their acquaintance did anything occur to weaken their attachment. With the exception of the first four chapters of the *Vita*, which deal briefly with the period before their acquaintance, the account he gives is based entirely on his own observation—things he had himself witnessed and experienced.

His Reliability

As a result we have a plain biography of fact, not of fiction. Possidius does not recount mere gossip or hearsay. Nowhere throughout the *Vita* do phrases occur indicating second-hand information. One thing that must immediately commend it as worthy of belief is the absence of such miraculous tales as abound in Paulinus's *Vita Ambrosii*. Even Augustine was not free from this credulity, as may be seen in the list of remarkable cures related toward the end of the *De Civitate Dei*. Possidius, however, was not given to recounting marvelous stories. Apart from a somewhat general reference to "certain energumens" from whom "demons departed by reason of Augustine's intercession in prayer," he relates, without affectation or extravagance, only one specific miracle performed by Augustine—the cure of a sick man by the laying on of hands. Moreover, wherever Possidius's statements can be checked by the writings of Augustine or the Acts of Councils, they are always fully corroborated.[48] To this there is no exception.[49] Yet in one respect he is careless: he does not al-

[48] Instances will be found in the Notes.

[49] In view of these facts it is a surprise to come upon such a statement as the following: "No Vandal writer ever arose to give a second

ways mention the sources of his few non-biblical quotations, but is apt to refer to the writers as *cuiusdam sapientis* or *quidam poeta.*

Though he only partly realized Augustine's true greatness and his increasing importance to the Church, he did recognize in him a devout Christian, a profound and eager student, a devoted and watchful shepherd, a mighty opponent of heretics and a daily example in his domestic life. He sees the present and local greatness, but has less conception of the lasting and widening influence which a mind and personality like Augustine's were destined to exert for ages to come. He sees that Augustine's arguments and reasoning have established the faith and brought peace to the Church, but that centuries later theologians and philosophers should still base many of their doctrines upon the writings of his friend is far outside the range of his imagination; for his nature, like his style, was essentially prosaic. Yet he did believe that posterity ought not to forget Augustine, and therefore wrote the *Vita* and compiled the *Indiculus,*[50] a catalogue of Augustine's works, to help those who would keep his memory alive.

His Appreciation of Augustine

The *Vita,* though not a regular chronological narrative, falls naturally into four parts:

I-V Introductory
VI-XVIII Activities against heresies
XIX-XXVII Daily life at home and in the church
XXVIII-XXXI Last days and death.

In this arrangement the *Vita* closely resembles the literary form which had become traditional in the Alexandrian biog-

account of the war, and there is much in the statements of Victor and Possidius to show the need of caution in accepting their facts as literally true" (L. R. Holme, *The Extinction of Christian Churches in North Africa,* p. 88). This writer presents no evidence whatsoever to sustain his disparagement of Possidius, though he does so in the case of Victor Vitensis, whose unrestrained statements must, of course, be accepted with reserve.

[50] See Chapter XVIII, note 6.

raphy and which is best illustrated in the *Lives* of Suetonius.[51] Possidius's acquaintance with this literary form evidently came not directly from classical sources but through his knowledge of the *Lives* of former Christian biographers.[52] Chief among these was undoubtedly Jerome, who acknowledges his indebtedness to Suetonius.[53] This form of biography lays principal stress on personal traits. Hence while Augustine's own writings are indispensable in forming an estimate of his far-reaching powers as a theologian, philosopher and preacher, were it not for the intimate revelations of every-day life presented by Possidius, our picture of his personality would be incomplete.

Date of Composition of the Vita

The date generally given for the composition of the *Vita* is 432. From Possidius's words it is clear that it must have been written after July 431, when the siege of Hippo was abandoned by the Vandals, for he says he was in Hippo during the whole time of the siege.[54] Furthermore, his use of *quondam* in the same chapter (*quondam Bonifacius*) seems to presuppose the death of Boniface, which occurred about 432. The *terminus ad quem* is the destruction of Carthage in 439, for Possidius states that when he wrote Carthage still remained uncaptured.[55] While the probabilities favor 432 or soon after as the date of the composition of the *Vita,* the evidence for this is not complete and the nearest certain approximation attainable is 432-439. No evidence derived from the date of the burning of Hippo, which is unknown, or from the presumed escape of the church library from the conflagration can be deduced to help in fixing the date of the *Vita* more closely. The *Indiculus* must, of course, have been made up from the books in the library at Hippo and might very prob-

[51] Leo, F., *Die Griechische-Römische Biographie,* pp. 11-16.

[52] See his Praefatio, p. 38.

[53] Roth, C. L., *Suetonius,* p. 287.

[54] *quam urbem ferme quatuordecim mensibus conclusam obsederunt . . . in eademque omni eius obsidionis tempore fuimus: Vita* XXVIII.

[55] *Vita* XXVIII.

ably have been compiled during the siege in 431 and later affixed to the *Vita.*

The *Vita,* as already suggested, is a plain recital of facts and incidents which give a clear insight into Augustine's daily life in public and private, based on the writer's personal and intimate knowledge. That Possidius was a man of moderate education appears readily. His style is wholly unadorned. It is the work of a plain man and untrained writer. This appears immediately in the striking contrast between the style of Possidius and that of the letter of Augustine, wonderful both in thought and style, which he embodies in Chapter XXX. The letter reads so smoothly and the argument is so clearly expressed that the scribes found little trouble in understanding it. This contrast with the diction of Possidius is further brought out by the very noticeable decrease in the variations and difficulties which this letter presents in all the MSS. The style of Possidius also differs radically from that of Augustine in that it lacks vivacity, versatility and copiousness. The form is somewhat stiff and the expression, while always marked by candor and often by naïve beauty, frequently lacks fluency. The sentences are frequently abrupt and loosely connected. They are bald, unrhetorical and often wanting in animation. While his style in some degree resembles that of Suetonius this is evidently due to the example of Christian biography and not to the direct influence of Suetonius, as there appears to be no evidence that Possidius had any acquaintance with his writings. Possidius is both naïve and commonplace in his manner. His sentences show neither balance nor finish and are sometimes marred by awkward parenthetical statements or curious doubling of expression. Except in the Preface, no serious attempt at literary finish is made. There is no philosophizing or play of the imagination; neither is there any padding or moralizing. Though the sentences are not long and involved, yet they are frequently awkward and the thought is not always clearly expressed. It is a simple matter-of-fact ac-

Style

count without embellishment, and is not weighed down with a mass of fable and fiction. Possidius shows self-restraint and modesty, with a touching sincerity and devotion to his leader. The work abounds in biblical references and quotations which are apt and reveal a considerable acquaintance with the Scriptures.[56] Outside the Scriptures he quotes only three books, the *Vita Ambrosii* of Paulinus, the *De Mortalitate* of Cyprian and the *Confessiones* of Augustine—a very limited circle—and two or three unidentified commonplaces. With the *Confessiones* he was quite familiar. He quotes no secular writer. His one aim was to reveal Augustine as man and bishop in his daily life, work and character. Of this he has given a faithful, if incomplete picture, one of absorbing interest and at times of unaffected beauty.

His Latinity is that of his own time, as used by a man of only fair ability and education. His vocabulary, arrangement and style are thus restricted by his own limitations. It is unrhetorical narrative Latin of the fifth century. Characteristics of still later Latin also begin to appear.

The text of this edition of the *Vita* is based on a collation of ten of the earlier MSS., five from France and five from Italy, in photostatic copy. Of these, four of the latter and at least one of the former have been examined for previous editions. A description of each of these ten MSS. follows:[57]

Manuscripts

A Bibliothèque de Chartres 112. Membraneus. 125ff. 220 x 170 millim., saec. IX-X. 1. *S. Augustini Vita scripta a Possidio episcopo.*[58]

[56] Some of these are direct quotations from the Vulgate; others are taken from some pre-Vulgate versions. Many of them are apparently loose quotations from memory.

[57] With the exception of *A*, the descriptions of the MSS. are taken from the Bollandist *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Latinorum* for the Vatican and for the Bibliothèque Nationale.

[58] We have no means of determining what exact title, if any, was given by Possidius to his Life of Augustine. The titles, as given in the ten MSS. consulted, vary greatly. The one most common element

As one of the earliest copies giving the complete text with fewer and less serious errors than any other, it is clearly the best of the ten MSS. It is carefully written in an excellent hand and presents only occasional errors. The observable errors in *A* are confined to 35 instances of haplography, its characteristic fault, 25 erroneous substitution of single letters, perhaps 5 impossible readings, and some easily detected and insignificant other slips here and there. They are all noted in the *apparatus criticus*.[59] This MS. seems to be quoted once, but inaccurately, by the Benedictine editors under

in them is the initial *Sancti Augustini Vita,* followed by some sort of reference to Possidius as the author, who is characterized as bishop in every instance but one where his name appears. I have taken as a provisional title *Sancti Augustini Vita scripta a Possidio Episcopo,* the heading given in *A*.

In all the MSS. consulted the body of the text is continuous, even in the fragmentary MSS., without any division into chapters, and consequently without any chapter titles. In a few cases there are consecutive Roman numerals entered at the side of the text at irregular intervals, but not continuing beyond the earlier part of the text. It is of course possible that these may have been intended by one or another scribe to indicate chapter divisions, but as they do not agree with each other nor extend through the body of the text nor correspond to the natural literary divisions, they may be disregarded as insignificant.

[59] Some examples of these faults are *altusque* for *alitusque* Chapter I, *manente* for *manentes* and the omission of *ac perficere* IX, *circelliones* for *circumcelliones* X, *episcopum* for *episcopi cum* XIII, the omission of *loquacitate . . . collatione* XVII, the omission of *impium . . . ministerium* and *quando . . . necessarium* XXX 7; *cogitandi atque orandi* for *cogitanti atque oranti* III, *multum . . . aurarium* for *mulctam . . . aurariam* and *commendatio* for *condemnatio* XII, *bibebant* for *vivebant* XV, *sectae* for *rectae* XVIII, *reticebantur* for *recitabantur* XXIV, *lucis* for *locis, evolatos* for *evolutos, fama contubescerent* for *fame contabescerent* and *regionum* for *regiorum* XXVIII, *absit* for *obsit* XXX 10; *intellexit* for *intercessit* XII, *heresi se* for *recessisse* XVII, *memorare* for *memor erat* XXIII, *orantibus* for *videntibus* XXVII, *ad locum uncti* for *ad loca munita* XXX 2.

the name Carnotensis, yet it nowhere appears in the list of MSS. which they have consulted.[60]

B Vatican, Codex Reginae Sueciae 1025. Membraneus, foliorum 211 (0^{m},273 x 0,222), paginis bipartitis exaratus saec. XI. 8. (Fol. 137^{v}-156^{v}) *Vita S. Augustini ep. conscripta a Possidio ep.* = BHL. 785, 786.
This MS. is complete and in general agrees with *A*, though it contains numerous errors and occasional readings taken from the second or variant group of MSS. Omissions and corrections are frequent. It is one of the MSS. used by Salinas.

C Vatican, Codex Reginae Sueciae 541. Membraneus, foliorum 179, signata olim I—$\frac{XX}{IX}$—I (0^{m},378 x 0,274), paginis, bipartitis exaratus variis manibus saec. XII. 63. (Fol. 158-166) *Vita S. Augustini ep.* = BHL. 785.
The main representative of the second or variant group. It is neatly written and errors are rather less numerous than in *B*. However it substitutes not a few readings of its own which are not found in the other MSS. The text is complete. Also used by Salinas.

D Bibliothèque Nationale, Codex signatus num. 2076. Olim coenobii Dervensis, deinde Petri Pithoei, deinde Thuaneus, deinde Colbertinus 1237, postea Regius C. 3775.3.3. Foliorum 144, med. (0^{m},285 x 0,23), columnis binis exaratus saec. X. 3. (Fol. 106^{v}-130) *Vita beati Augustini a beatissimo Possidio edita Calamensi episcopo.*
In close agreement with *C*. There are many corrections, usually to the readings peculiar to *C*. It is complete.

E Bibliothèque Nationale, Codex signatus num. 13220. Olim Francisci de Harlay archiepiscopi Rotomagensis, deinde coenobii sancti Martialis Lemovicensis, postea San-Germ., Harlay 369. Foliorum 211, min. (fere 0^{m},175 x 0,44), lineis plenis, exaratus diversis manibus saec. X.

[60] Salinas p. 65, Migne 32, 49 note 2.

9. (Fol. 96^{v}-134^{v}) *Vita Sancti Augustini episcopi Hipponensis, a beato Possidio edita Calamensi episcopo.* Very carefully written. The few errors are generally corrected. It contains many interlinear explanatory words entered in a later hand above the corresponding word in the text. The conclusion of the *Vita* is missing. Though this MS. was once at St. Germain, it cannot be the MS. quoted by the Benedictine editors as Germanensis, for the readings do not agree.

F Bibliothèque Nationale, Codex signatus num. 11748. Olim sancti Mauri Fossatensis 38, deinde San-Germ., prius 1060, recentius 487. Foliorum 155, med. (0^{m},36 x 0,27), columnis binis, exaratus saec. X. 9. (Fol. 20^{v}-35^{v}) *Vita beati Augustini.*

Very inaccurate in case endings. The text is complete. It is quoted in the Benedictine edition under the name Fossatensis and is called *vetustissimus.*[61]

G Bibliothèque Nationale, Codex signatus num. 10863. Olim coenobii "Luxovinensis" (fol. 1), deinde Suppl. lat. 1445. Foliorum 99, min. (0^{m},21 x 0,14), lineis plenis, exaratus saec. IX. 1. (Fol. 24-52) *Vita sancti Augustini auctore Possidio.*

Likewise inaccurate in case endings. The first nine and a half chapters are missing and a portion of Augustine's letter is omitted.[62]

H Vatican, Codex 1190 (olim 2171). Membraneus, foliorum A et sign. 1-179, 181-264 (0^{m},380 x 0,282), paginis bipartitis exaratus variis manibus saec. XII. 36. (Fol. 88^{v}-97) *Acta S. Augustini ep.* = BHL. 785.

Fragmentary. Used by Salinas.

J Vatican, Codex 1191. Membraneus, foliorum 205 (0^{m},430 x 0,308), paginis bipartitis exaratus saec. XII extr.

[61] Migne 32, 55 note 6.

[62] The MSS. *EFG* on the whole agree rather with *CD* than with *AB*, though somewhat unsteadily.

70. (Fol. 198-203^{v}) *Vita S. Augustini ep. edita a Possidio ep.* = BHL. 785.

Still more fragmentary. Used by Salinas.

K Bibliotheca Vallicellana, Tomus I. Membraneus, foliorum A et sign. 1-336 (0^{m},565 x 0,360), paginis bipartitis exaratus saec. XI/XII. 92. (Fol. 250-254^{v}) *Natale S. Augustini ep.* = BHL. 785.

Closely related to *H*. Fragmentary. It also breaks off abruptly in Chapter XXIV.

LMNOP Five MSS. used by the Benedictine editors: duo Floriacenses, Germanensis, Vedastinus, Cisterciensis.

Q Brussels, Bollandist Museum, P.MS 5.

Belongs to the *AB* group, being related very closely to *B*.

The order of the MSS. *E-K* represents no particular classification, except that *G-K* are more or less fragmentary. The readings from the MSS. *L-Q*, as given in the Benedictine edition and the *Acta Sanctorum*, are indicated in the *apparatus criticus*, though the former are very few and generally unimportant. However, when the Benedictine editors quote their MSS. as *codex unus* or *codex alter*, as they usually do, thereby making it impossible to identify the MS. from which the variant is taken, the reading has been omitted. The variants given from *Q* are important.

In addition to the manuscripts enumerated and described above, readings in crucial places from seventeen manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale were obtained through the courtesy of M. Omont, Conservateur des Manuscrits. The readings thus obtained closely confirm the consensus of the other manuscripts used as against the readings introduced by previous editors. They do not, however, aid in determining more clearly the relative value of the body of manuscripts used as the basis for this edition. These seventeen manuscripts are marked in the general list of manuscripts on page 30 by the letters *a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r*.

In determining the relative value of the various MSS. one fact must be kept in mind, namely that the texts of the lives

of saints did not receive the same consideration as those of classical writers. Lives of saints were very common and were freely multiplied. Scribes were less careful with them than with either the Scriptures or classical writings for which a greater amount of regard was felt; for the former because of their inspired nature and for the latter because of their rarity and antiquity. Hence there was less restraint in copying the texts of these Lives. Accordingly there are more individual differences in such MSS., and the family groups are not as clearly defined. Moreover since the MSS. of any one Life are so much more numerous than for most classical texts—in the present case probably two hundred or more—definite relationship is clearly more difficult to establish on the basis of only a part of the extant MSS. of a given Life.

Thus in the case of the ten MSS. of the *Vita Augustini* examined for this edition, each MS. is in some degree independent of the others. Under such conditions, therefore, the choice of the best MS. or group of MSS., may be made by a process of elimination. In a comparison of the ten MSS. with a view to this choice *GHJK* may be omitted as they are quite fragmentary. Of the other six MSS. the crucial readings of *A* and *B* frequently agree in opposition to all the others, thus showing a certain relationship between these two. For instance in the *Praefatio AB* read *videar fraudare,* whereas *CDFHK* read *fraudare videar; AB autem, CDEFHK enim.* In Chapter I *A* and *B* both read *carthaginensi* which is, of course, an error for *tagastensi.* In this same chapter *AB* read *assistens* as against *astans* in *CDEFHJK.* Other instances of this agreement between *A* and *B* may easily be found in the *apparatus criticus.*

C, on the other hand, contains many readings found in none of the other nine MSS., except only in the corrections made in *D* by a second hand. Thus in Chapter VIII for the reading *sed consacerdos* found in the other MSS. *CD** have *quam consacerdos;* in Chapter IX for *Quae cum audissent . . . comperta, CD** have *quae vir beatus comperta;* at the end of Chapter XV while the other MSS. vary between *vivat, vivit*

and *vitat, CD** alone agree on *victitat;* in Chapter XIX *CD** read *quanto magis* instead of *nedum* or *necdum* found in the other MSS. However *C* also contains variant readings which are found in other MSS. and which seem to indicate that *C* belongs to a different family than *AB*. MSS. *E* and *F* agree sometimes with *AB* and sometimes with *C*. As their readings are found in *AB* or *C* they may be disregarded as not outstanding representatives of either group. The final choice, therefore, as to the best available source for the original text among these ten MSS. lies between *AB* and *C*. *A* is more free from errors than any of the other nine MSS. and is also one of the earliest. Moreover since *C* contains many readings not found in the other MSS. it cannot be regarded as a pure text, for if it were, it is highly improbable that none of the other nine MSS., except only *D**, should contain any trace whatsoever of these readings, many of which differ radically from the readings in the other MSS.[63] The reading of *CD** in Chapter XIX cited above is probably an alteration to the Vulgate reading. Such alterations are not infrequent in *C* and are a further illustration of the liberties which the writer of *C* took with the text. For these reasons the MSS. *AB,* of which *A* is the better representative,[64] seem to furnish a text which resembles the archetype more closely than any of the other MSS. *CDEFGHJK*. Accordingly *A* has been adopted as the main basis of the text and followed rather closely. Its variant readings are fully noted in the *apparatus criticus.*

A partial list of MSS. of the *Vita,* as complete as could be made from available sources, is herewith given.

[63] These variants in *C* are so numerous that they could not all be included in the *apparatus criticus.* They are therefore given only when they have some direct bearing on readings in other MSS.

[64] The choice of *A* in preference to *B* as the purer representative of the *AB* family follows naturally after a comparison of the two MSS. Evidence, if necessary, may be found in the *apparatus criticus.*

List of Manuscripts

	PLACE OF DEPOSIT	CATALOGUE NUMBER	FOLIOS OF TEXT	DATE
	Austria-Hungary			
	Heiligenkreuz: Monastery.	13	168v-176v	XII
	Lilienfeld: Monastery.	60	177v-185	XIII
	Melk: Monastery.	M6	333-345	XV
	Vienna: Hofbibl.	474	226-255v (256-265v Ind)[65]	XI
	Vienna: Hofbibl.	1052	38v-62	XII
	Belgium			
	Brussels: Bibl. Reg.	64	163v-166 (fr)	XI
	Brussels: Bibl. Reg.	1734	1-29	XIV
	Brussels: Bibl. Reg.	2342-51 (1)	25v-52	XV
	Brussels: Bibl. Reg.	7482	98v-101 (fr)	XIII
	Brussels: Bibl. Reg.	7487-91	90-97v (fr)	XIII
	Brussels: Bibl. Reg.	8675-89	30-49	XII
	Brussels: Bibl. Reg.	9636-37	18v-33v	XI
	Brussels: Bibl. Reg.	11550-55	123v-134	XIII
	Brussels: Bibl. Reg.	D.Phil. 324, 327(1)	45-64 (Ind)	XII
	Brussels: Bibl. Reg.	D. Phil. 4627	43v-66v	XI
	Brussels: Bibl. Reg.	D. Phil. 8391	79-93v (93v-94 Ind)	XI
	Mons: Bibl. Pub.	26, 210, 8402	142-156v	XIII
	Namur: Bibl. Pub.	2	(3¾ff.)	XIV
	France			
	Angers: Bibl. d'Angers	802 (718)	50-68 (68v-73v Ind)	XI
	Angers: Bibl. d'Angers	806 (722)	116v-126v	XII
	Auxerre: Bibl. d'Auxerre	28 (28)	4-20	XI
	Cambrai: Bibl. de Cambrai	864 (767 II)	188-202 (202v-203v Ind)	XI
	Cambrai: Bibl. de Cambrai	855 (760)	101v-107v, 113-125 (fr)	XIII
	Chalons-sur-Marne Bibl. de Chalons-sur-Marne	70 (78)	114-133	XI
A	Chartres: Bibl. de Chartres	112 (60)	1-42v (42v-61 Ind)	IX-X
	Chartres: Bibl. de Chartres	500 (190)	162-167v (fr)	XII
	Chartres: Bibl. de Chartres	501 (192)	141v-152 (fr)	XII
	Dijon: Bibl. de Dijon	638-642 (383) Tom IV	31-37 (fr)	XI-XII
	Douai: Bibl. de Douai	151 Tom II	98-99v (fr)	XIII
	Douai: Bibl. de Douai	837	113v-116v (fr)	XII
	Douai: Bibl. de Douai	867	52v-72 (72-73 Ind)	XII
	Grenoble: Bibl. de Grenoble	1174	92v-109 (109v-113v Ind)	XII
	Le Mans: Bibl. du Mans	227	129-138 (138-140 Ind)	XI-XII
	Paris: Bibl. de St. Genevieve	694	1-8 (fr)	XVII
	Paris: Bibl. de St. Genevieve	2613	75 (fr)	XVIII
	Paris: Bibl. de Mazarine	1714 (570)	3v-16	XIII
D	Paris: Bibl. Nat.	2076	106v-130 (130-137v Ind)	X
	Paris: Bibl. Nat.	3809A	53-54 (fr)	XV
a	Paris: Bibl. Nat.	3820	96-102v (fr)	XIV
b	Paris: Bibl. Nat.	5270	45v-62	XIII
c	Paris: Bibl. Nat.	5276	120-136v (136v-137v Ind)	XIV
d	Paris: Bibl. Nat.	5278	177-187v (om. ep.)	XIII
e	Paris: Bibl. Nat.	5293	6-21 (21-24 Ind)	XII

[65] Ind = Indiculus, fr = fragmentary.

	PLACE OF DEPOSIT	CATALOGUE NUMBER	FOLIOS OF TEXT	DATE
f	Paris: Bibl. Nat.	5296	214-216^{v} (fr)	XIII
g	Paris: Bibl. Nat.	5343	63-79 (79-84^{v} Ind)	XII
h	Paris: Babl. Nat.	5365	66^{v}-68^{v}, 77-77^{v}, 69-73	XII
j	Paris: Bibl. Nat.	8995	35-49^{v} (om. praef.)	XIII
G	Paris: Bibl. Nat.	10863	24-52 (ff. missing)	IX
F	Paris: Bibl. Nat.	11748	20^{v}-32 (32-35^{v} Ind)	X
k	Paris: Bibl. Nat.	11750	148-156^{v}	XI
	Paris: Bibl. Nat.	11753	122^{v}-128^{v} (fr)	XII
l	Paris: Bibl. Nat.	11758	163^{v}-172	XIII
m	Paris: Bibl. Nat.	11759	59-60^{v}, 282-287^{v}	XIV
n	Paris: Bibl. Nat.	12606	88^{v}-93	XII
E	Paris: Bibl. Nat.	13220	96^{v}-134^{v}	X
o	Paris: Bibl. Nat.	14651	228^{v}-239^{v}	XV
p	Paris: Bibl. Nat.	15437	136^{v}-141^{v}	XI
q	Paris: Bibl. Nat.	16734	155-162	XII
	Paris: Bibl. Nat.	17002	231-232^{v} (fr)	X
	Paris: Bibl. Nat.	17005	159-160 (fr)	XII
	Paris: Bibl. Nat.	N. A. 1595	136^{v}-137^{v} (fr)	IX
r	Paris: Bibl. Nat.	N. A. 2178	106-122^{v}	XI
	Paris: Bibl. Nat.	N. A. 2179	279^{v}-286 (fr)	XI
	Paris: Bibl. Nat.	N. A. 2261	72-79^{v}	XII
	Rouen: Bibl. Pub.	1388 (U32)	105-106 (fr)	XII
	Rouen: Bibl. Pub.	1412 (A40)	88^{v}-90 (fr)	XII
	Germany			
	Bamberg: K. Oeffent. Bibl.	1024	1-21	X
	Berlin: Kgl. Bibl.	123	344^{v}-355	XIII
	Erlangen: K. Univ. Bibl.	258	21 (fr)	XII
	Leipzig: Stadtbibl.	CXCV	19^{v}-34	XIII
	Munich: Kgl. Bibl.	701	174^{v}-180	XIV
	Munich: Kgl. Bibl.	7638	10-26	XII
	Munich: Kgl. Bibl.	17041	65-81	XII
	Munich: Kgl. Bibl.	17732	68-180 (?)	XII
	Münster: Univ. Bibl.	144 (272)	1-32	XIV
	Münster: Univ. Bibl.	218 (348)	?	XV
	Trier: Stadtbibl.	156	176-187	XVI
	Great Britain			
	Dublin: Trinity College	45	?	XIII
	Durham: Cathedral	B IV 14	219-235^{v} (Ind)	XIII
	London: Brit. Mus.	15621, Addit. of 1845	2-26	XIII
	London: Brit. Mus.	16161, Addit. of 1846	144- ?	XII
	London: Brit. Mus.	35110, Addit. of 1899	9^{v}-28 (28-29^{v} Ind)	XII
	Italy			
	Milan: Bibl. Ambros.	B 33 Inf.	6^{v}-20 (20-23 Ind)	XIII
	Milan: Bibl. Ambros.	B 55 Inf.	97-103	XI
	Milan: Bibl. Ambros.	D 22 Inf.	170^{v}-189^{v}	XII
	Milan: Bibl. Ambros.	H 224 Inf.	59-72	XII
	Milan: Bibl. Ambros.	P 113 Sup.	100-113^{v} (fr)	X
	Monte Cassino	CXLVII	401-430	XI

	PLACE OF DEPOSIT	CATALOGUE NUMBER	FOLIOS OF TEXT	DATE
	Naples: Bibl. Nat.	XV AA 15 Tom III	205-205^{v}, 209-209^{v} (fr)	XIII
	Rome: Bibl. Angelica	1269	240-266 (Ind)	XIII
	Rome: Lateran	A80	72-84^{v}	XI
	Rome: Sanctae Mariae Maioris	B	108-114 (fr)	XIII
K	Rome: Bibl. Vallicellana	Tom I	250-254^{v} (fr)	XI-XII
	Rome: Bibl. Vallicellana	Tom XXV	287^{v}-289^{v} (fr)	XI-XII
	Rome: Vatican		214-219	XV
H	Rome: Vatican	1190	88^{v}-97 (fr)	XII
J	Rome: Vatican	1191	198-203^{v} (fr)	XII
	Rome: Vatican	1271	350-351^{v} (fr)	XII
	Rome: Vatican	Pal. 225	32-66^{v} (Ind)	XV
C	Rome: Vatican	Cod. Reg. Sueciae 541	158-166	XII
B	Rome: Vatican	Cod. Reg. Sueciae 1025	137^{v}-150^{v} (150^{v}-156^{v} Ind)	XI
	Switzerland			
	St. Gall: Stiftsbibl.	571	50-178 (1-48 Ind)	IX
	St. Gall: Stiftsbibl.	577	451-498 (498- ? Ind)	IX-X
	Bern: Stadtbibl.	A8	6^{v} (praef. only)	XII
	Engelberg: Benedictine Monastery	2	(62^{v}-66 Ind)	XII

The earlier editions of the *Vita Augustini* in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were not printed separately but were regularly included in volumes containing works of Augustine. They are catalogued in part in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* 785 and in the *British Museum Catalogue* under Possidius. The most important older edition not printed separately but included with the works of Augustine is in the Benedictine edition printed at Paris, 1679-1700.[67]

Editions

It was based on previous editions and, if we may judge from the readings given, on a very

[66] This is one of the MSS. used by Salinas. However it is not the *Vita* proper, but consists in extracts from the *Vita* with later additions. It is the form of the *Vita* described as follows under BHL 792: VITA ET TRANSLATIONES. *Inc.* Bb. Augustinus ex provincia Africae civitate Thagastensi honestis et christianis parentibus progenitus fuit. *Des.* Iure igitur in apostolica est collocatus ecclesia quia pro apostolica. . .

[67] This edition was reprinted at Antwerp 1700-1703, Venice 1729-1734, Bassano 1807, Paris 1836-1839 and by Migne, Petit-Montrouge 1841-1849 and again at Paris in 1865 as part of the *Patrologia Latina*.

cursory examination of six MSS., *FLMNOP*. It appears to have made but few alterations in the traditional printed text. Some criticism of the Benedictine and earlier editions is found in the edition by Salinas, printed at Rome in 1731, pp. V-VIII.[68]

This edition by Salinas is the first separate edition of the *Vita*. It is based on an examination of certain earlier editions, chiefly the Benedictine, and MSS. *BCHJ* and Vatican MS. 1188[69] at first hand. The edition is divided into two parts, the first containing the text of the *Vita* with critical and explanatory notes and the second a dissertation by Salinas *De Vita et Rebus Gestis S. Possidii*. His scanty citations of readings from the small group of MSS. he used, as tested by an examination of photostatic copies, are generally accurate, but several errors occur. He gives no classification or estimate of their relative value, though he seems to have a preference for *C*. His text, on the whole, differs very little from that of the Benedictine edition. His choice or change of readings, when explained at all, is based not on manuscript evidence, but rather on extraneous suggestions, generally of a historical nature.

The explanatory notes in the edition of Salinas are not very frequent. Nevertheless they give full and even superfluous information, consisting largely of quotations from Augustine, the Acts of Councils and other illustrations from church history. The main fault of the notes is that they are often burdened with unnecessary matter and are not proportioned to the importance of the subject explained. Salinas also added the chapter headings, which do not appear in the earlier editions. These have been retained in the present edition as providing convenient summaries of each chapter.

[68] *S. Aurelii Augustini Hipponesis Episcopi Vita auctore S. Possidio Calamensi Episcopo . . . opera et studio D. Joannis Salinas,* Romae 1731. A copy of this rare book was procured for the Library of Princeton University by the late Director Jesse Benedict Carter of the American Academy at Rome.

[69] See note 66, p. 32.

The work of Salinas, however, has a distinct value. Apart from the earlier Benedictine edition, it is the first edition which attempts to be critical. Its general review of the text, though not made by scientific method, represents a certain advance over anything done before, and the information in the notes is usually reliable.

There are three other editions which deserve brief notice. The Migne edition (1865) is merely a reprint of the Benedictine edition with a comparison of Salinas and the addition of his critical notes. The text in the *Acta Sanctorum* (Paris, 1866) is a reprint of the text of Salinas with variant readings from *Q*. There is also an edition by Hurter in *Sanctorum Patrum Opuscula Selecta,* Innsbruck 1895. The source of the text is not evident, as it agrees neither with the Benedictine nor Salinas edition, but seems to result from a capricious alteration of both. It abounds in errors of omission, transpositions and even has insertions which appear nowhere else, either in the ten MSS. used or in the editions. However it contains some valuable comments and a few selections from the critical notes of Salinas.

The Text

The *textus receptus* evidently dates back to the early editions, at least to the Louvain edition of 1564. Many liberties have been taken in altering the text, chiefly to fit the rules of classical grammar or to make it read more smoothly. Instances are the substitution of the accusative for the ablative, *in ipsas montium silvas et cavernas petrarum et speluncas confugientes:* XXVIII; the subjunctive for the indicative, *praedicaret:* IX; the imperfect for the pluperfect subjunctive, *denegaret:* XIV; a change to a more suitable conjunction, *sed* for *et:* XIV; *petitus iret* for *petitum ire:* XXVII, to avoid an abrupt change of construction; *astantem* for *assistentem:* XXVII, for no reason at all apparently; the unnecessary insertion of *debeo:* Praef., to complete the sentence; the omission of *nam* and insertion of *autem:* XXXI, and the substitution of the ablative absolute for the accusative, *eisque compertis* for *eaque com-*

perta: IX, because the parenthetical remarks were somewhat obscured; *oppropinquaret* for *propinquaret:* IV, and *elevata* for *levata:* V; the substitution of *spectaret* for *speraret:* IV, evidently because the common meaning of *spero* did not fit; *factus ergo* for *factusque:* V; *iuste* for *iniusti:* XIII; *latebras* for *latera:* XV; *probata* for *prolata:* XVII; *suos* for *suis:* XXV; *inobediensve* for *inobediensque:* XXVIII; the insertion of *quod* after *credo:* XV; the addition, by Salinas, of *conversus ad Deum:* II, and *verbum Dei:* V; the numerous substitutions of *iis* for *his* which appears consistently in all the MSS.[70] In some of these instances the readings of the editions perhaps may find support in MSS. not available for this edition, but the changes are altogether too numerous and too nice to be anything but an attempt at wholesale text-improvement. This text was unquestioningly adopted by later editions, without so much as an indication of the manuscript readings at many such places. Nevertheless, despite the alterations made by editors, the main body of the text is clear in all the manuscripts consulted, and the area of disputable readings, significant or insignificant, is only about eight hundred words out of a total of over twelve thousand.

In basing the text on *AB,* the best group of the MSS. *A-K,* it becomes clear that while there are no difficulties in the form of lacunae or corrupt passages of extended length, there are many readings, principally of individual words, which need exact determination. All these readings have been minutely examined and tested by the weight of the manuscript evidence available and a comparison of the usage of Possidius in other instances. Such alterations in the text as have been made without manuscript authority in previous editions have been

[70] Compare, for example, the unanimous evidence of the MSS. as opposed to the editions on p. 44. Further instances of this sort of text correction where the evidence of the MSS. is unanimously opposed to the editions, are recorded in the *apparatus criticus.* In some other cases when the MSS. vary, the editions nevetheless present some individual readings unsupported by any of the MSS.

largely subjective and have tended to obscure the language and style of Possidius. The purpose of this edition is to present a revision of previous editions in the light of fuller evidence from a larger number of MSS. and to arrive at a text which reproduces as nearly as possible what Possidius wrote, rather than what he should have written. While the result is a text written in a manner somewhat more uncouth, abrupt and awkward than is found in the editions where the text abounds in smooth corrections of editors, it is nevertheless evidently the truer text.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS IN THE APPARATUS CRITICUS

A	Chartres 112.	
B	Vatican 1025.	
C	Vatican 541.	
D	Paris 2076.	
E	Paris 13220.	
F	Paris 11748.	
G	Paris 10863.	
H	Vatican 1190.	
J	Vatican 1191.	
K	Vallicellana I.	
L	Floriacensis I	Benedictine MSS.
M	Floriacensis II	
N	Germanensis	
O	Vedastinus	
P	Cisterciensis	
Q	P. MS 5 (in *Acta Sanctorum*)	
a-r	17 supplementary MSS., see page 30.	
Sal.	Salinas.	
Ben.	Benedictine.	
Mi.	Migne.	
edd.	Salinas, Benedictine, Migne.	
*	Second hand or change by first hand.	
]	Words followed by a single square bracket are extracts from the text adopted in this edition.	

Readings Noted in the Apparatus Criticus.

The readings noted are the variant readings, with no citations from the MSS. supporting the text, except where there is considerable confusion in the MSS. and where readings of the supplementary MSS. *a-r* are given.

SANCTI AUGUSTINI VITA SCRIPTA A POSSIDIO EPISCOPO

PRAEFATIO

Inspirante rerum omnium factore et gubernatore Deo, mei memor propositi, quo per gratiam Salvatoris, omnipotenti ac divinae Trinitati per fidem servire decrevi, et antea in vita laicorum, et nunc in officio episcoporum studens ex qualicunque accepto ingenio et sermone aedificationi prodesse sanctae ac verae Christi Domini Catholicae Ecclesiae, de vita et moribus praedestinati et suo tempore praesentati sacerdotis optimi Augustini, quae in eodem vidi, ab eoque audivi, minime reticere. Id enim etiam ante nos factitatum fuisse a religiosissimis sanctae matris Ecclesiae Catholicae viris legimus et comperimus, qui divino afflati Spiritu, sermone proprio atque stilo, et auribus et oculis scire volentium, dicendo et scribendo similia, studiosorum notitiae intulerunt, quales quantique viri ex communi Dominica gratia in rebus humanis et vivere et usque in finem obitus perseverare meruerunt. Idcirco ipse quoque dispensatorum omnium minimus, fide non ficta, qua Domino dominantium omnibusque bonis serviendum et placendum est fidelibus, de praedicti venerabilis viri et exortu et procursu et debito fine,[1] quae per eum didici et expertus sum, quamplurimis annis eius inhaerens caritati, ut Dominus donaverit explicandum suscepi. Verum summam quaeso maiestatem, quo

4 Inspirante....40, 15 honorificum est *om. Jj*, Inspirante 60, 23 faciebant *om. G* 5 omnipotentis *CDF*H*, omnipotentiae *KQ* 6 trinitatis *CQ*, per fidem trinitatis *DF*, per fidem trinitati *edd* 8 aedificationis *CFHKNP* 9 ac *H Sal* 11 minime reticere] *ABDE FHKQbdgr*, reticebo *D**, disposui minime reticeri *C*, minime reticere disposui *c*, minime reticere statui *hlq*, minime reticere delegi *m*, minime reticere volui *np*, minime audeo reticere *o*, minime puto reticenda *c*, reticere nolui *k*, minime reticere debeo *fortasse ex coniectura edd.* debeo

LIFE OF SAINT AUGUSTINE WRITTEN BY THE BISHOP POSSIDIUS

PREFACE

Inspired by God, the Maker and Ruler of all, and mindful of my purpose wherein through the grace of the Saviour I resolved faithfully to serve the omnipotent and divine Trinity, both formerly as a layman and now as a bishop, I am eager with whatever ability and eloquence I possess, to aid in the edification of the holy and true Catholic Church of Christ the Lord, and so [have resolved] not to keep silent concerning the life and character of the most noble Bishop Augustine, predestined long ago and presented in his own time—the things that I have seen in him and heard from him. I have read and observed that this very thing was often done in times past by most devout men of the holy Catholic Mother Church. Inspired by the divine Spirit, yet using their own speech and style, they spoke and wrote like histories for the ears and eyes of those who wished to learn, and thus brought to the notice of the studious the great men who were counted worthy by the Lord's free grace both to live amid human affairs and to persevere to the end of their course. Therefore in that faith unfeigned whereby all righteous and faithful souls must serve and please the Lord of Lords, I also, the least of all His stewards, have determined, with the Lord's help, to set forth the origin, career and end of this venerable man as I have learned them from him and observed them through so many years of loving fellowship. But I beseech

autem superfluum est quia reticere *similiter ac* servire *ex* decrevi *pendet* 17 domini *CDEF edd.*, per communis domini gratiam *OL vel M. Q exhibet* dominica.

munus huiusmodi a me arreptum ita geram et peragam, ut nec Patris luminum[2] offendam veritatem, nec bonorum Ecclesiae filiorum ulla ex parte videar fraudare caritatem. Nec attingam ea omnia insinuare, quae idem beatissimus Augustinus in suis Confessionum libris de semetipso, qualis ante perceptam gratiam fuerit qualisque iam sumpta viveret, designavit. Hoc autem facere voluit, ut ait Apostolus, ne de se quisquam hominum supra quam se esse noverat, aut de se auditum fuisset, crederet vel putaret,[3] humilitatis sanctae more utique [suo] nihilo fallens, sed laudem non suam, sed sui Domini de propria liberatione ac munere quaerens, ex his videlicet quae iam perceperat, et fraternas preces poscens de his quae accipere cupiebat. *Sacramentum* igitur *regis,* ut angelica auctoritate prolatum est, *bonum est abscondere: opera autem Domini revelare et confiteri, honorificum est.*[4]

CAPUT I

Augustini ortus, conversio et baptismus

Ex provincia ergo Africana civitate Tagastensi,[1] de numero curialium parentibus honestis et Christianis progenitus erat, alitusque ac nutritus eorum cura et diligentia impensisque, secularibus litteris eruditus apprime, omnibus videlicet disciplinis imbutus, quas liberales vocant.[2] Nam et grammaticam prius in sua civitate, et rhetoricam in Africae capite Carthagine postea docuit. Consequenti etiam tempore trans mare in urbe Roma, et apud Mediolanum, ubi tunc imperatoris Valentiniani minoris comitatus fuerat constitutus. In qua urbe tunc

3 fraudare videar *CDFHK edd.*, videar errasse *E* 7 autem] enim *CDEFHK edd* *Q exhibet* autem 8 noverat auderet de se credere vel putare *l*, se credere vel putare *q* 9 humilitatis sanctae more utique [suo] nihilo fallens] *A*, humilitatis sanctae more utique nihil fallens *BQbccgo* (nihilo *n*, memores *k*), humilitatis sanctae memoriae utique nihilo fallens *E*, humilitatis sanctae more ut iam e nihilo fallens *r*, humilitatis sanctae memoriae ut iam nihilo fallens *H*, humilitatis sanctae memoriae ut a me nihilo fallens *F*, humilitate sanctae memoriae uti a me nihilo fallens *K*, humilitatis sanctae memoria utque nihil fallens *CD** (memoria utens; utque *Sal. in commentario ex errore*), humilitatis sancta memoria utique nihilo fallens *h* (sancte *m*), humilitatis sancte me-

the divine Majesty that by His aid I may carry out and complete this task, which I have undertaken, without sinning against the truth of the Father of Lights or seeming in any way to disappoint the loving expectation of good sons of the Church. It is not my purpose to touch on all those things which the blessed Augustine noted about himself in his books of the *Confessions,* telling what his life was before receiving the divine grace and what is became on his conversion. For it was his purpose that, in the words of the Apostle, "no man should believe or think him to be above that which he knew him to be or heard of him." Therefore in his practice of holy humility he deceived no one and sought not his own praise for those things he had already received, but the glory of his Lord because of the blessing of his own deliverance, and desired the prayers of his brethren for the things which he hoped to obtain. For, as declared by the angel, though "It is good to hide the secret of a king: yet it is honorable to reveal and confess the works of God."

CHAPTER I

Augustine's birth, conversion and baptism

Augustine was born in the African province, in the city of Tagaste of honorable Christian parents of curial rank and was nurtured and trained under their care and attention. At their expense he was educated chiefly in secular literature, that is, was trained in all the disciplines which are called liberal. For he first taught grammar in his own town and then rhetoric at Carthage, the capitol of Africa. Subsequently [he taught] across the sea in the city of Rome and at Milan where the Emperor Valentinian the Younger had then established his court.

morie utique nihil fallens *p,* humilitate sancta uti et timore utique non fallens *d,* humilitatis....fallens *om. lq,* humilitatis sanctae more utens et iam nullum fallens *edd* 11 iis *edd* 12 iis *edd* 18 Ex provincia] *incipit J* africae *HJK,* africa *A* carthaginensi *ABJ,* traiestensi *C* 19 fuit *A*D*E** 20 altusque *A* 21 adprimate *A* 23 sua *om. A.*

episcopatum administrabat acceptissimus Deo, et in optimis viris praeclarissimus sacerdos Ambrosius.[3] Huius interea verbi Dei praedicatoris frequentissimis in ecclesia disputationibus assistens in populo, intendebat suspensus[4] atque affixus. Verum aliquando Manichaeorum[5] apud Carthaginem adolescens fuerat errore seductus, et ideo ceteris suspensior aderat, ne quid vel pro ipsa vel contra ipsam haeresim diceretur. Et provenit Dei liberatoris clementia sui sacerdotis cor pertractantis, ut contra illum errorem incidentes legis solverentur quaestiones, atque ita edoctus sensim atque paulatim haeresis illa miseratione divina eius ex animo expulsa est: protinusque in fide catholica confirmatus, proficiendi in religione eidem amoris ardor innatus est, quo propinquantibus diebus sanctis Paschae, salutis aquam perciperet. Et factum est divina praestante opitulatione, ut per illum tantum ac talem antistitem Ambrosium et doctrinam salutarem Ecclesiae Catholicae et divina perciperet sacramenta.

CAPUT II

Relictis omnibus suscipit propositum serviendi Deo, iam annis maior triginta

Moxque ex intimis cordis medullis[1] spem omnem quam habebat in seculo dereliquit, iam non uxorem, non filios carnis, non divitias, non honores seculi quaerens[2]: sed Deo cum suis servire statuit, et in illo, et ex illo pusillo grege esse studens, quem Dominus alloquitur, dicens: *Nolite timere pusillus grex, quoniam complacuit Patri vestro dare vobis regnum. Vendite quae possidetis, et date eleemosynam: facite vobis sacculos non veterascentes, thesaurum non deficientem in coelis,*[3] et cetera. Et illud quod dicit iterum Dominus, idem vir sanctus facere

4 astans *CDEFHJK edd* 8 praevenit *BD* edd. Q exhibet* provenit 11 pulsa est *CDEFHJK edd* protinusque]+ipse *edd* 13 natus *B*CD,* iniectus *Q* sanctae *BK* 15 talem ac tantum *edd* 17 divinum sacramentum *BQ* 24 medullis]+conversus *K,* +conversus ad Deum *Sal., om. Qabcdeghjklmnopqr*

At that time the bishopric in this city was administered by Ambrose, a priest most acceptable to God and eminent among the best of men. As he stood among the people in the church he used to listen in eager suspense to the frequent sermons of this preacher of the Word of God. Now at one time, while still a youth at Carthage, he had been carried away by the error of the Manichaeans and therefore was more eager than others to hear whether anything would be said for or against this heresy. And by the mercy of God the Deliverer who touched the heart of His bishop, it came to pass that the questions of the Law bearing on that error were solved, and so little by little Augustine was led on by the divine compassion until the heresy was driven from his soul. Straightway, established in the Catholic faith, an ardent desire was awakened in him to perfect himself in religion, and so with the coming of the holy days of Easter he received the water of baptism. And thus it happened that by divine grace he received through the great and illustrious prelate Ambrose the salutary doctrine of the Catholic Church and the divine Sacraments.

CHAPTER II

When more than thirty years of age he leaves all and takes up his profession of serving God

And soon from his inmost heart he relinquished all earthly desires, no longer seeking wife, children of the flesh, riches or worldly honors. But he determined to serve God with His saints, desiring to be in and of that little flock to which the Lord spoke, saying, "Fear not, little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom. Sell that ye have and give alms; provide yourselves bags which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not," and so on. And that which the Lord spoke on another occasion this holy

cupiens: *Si vis esse perfectus, vende omnia quae habes, et da pauperibus, et habebis thesaurum in coelis, et veni sequere me.*[4] Et super fidei fundamentum aedificare desiderans, non ligna, fenum et stipulam, sed aurum, argentum et lapides pretiosos.[5] Et erat tunc annis maior triginta,[6] sola superstite matre,[7] sibique adhaerente, et de suscepto eius proposito serviendi Deo amplius quam de carnis nepotibus exsultante.[8] Nam iam eius pater antea defunctus erat.[9] Renunciavit etiam scholasticis quos rhetor docebat, ut sibi magistrum alium providerent, eo quod servire ipse Deo decrevisset.[10]

CAPUT III

Secessus Augustini

Ac placuit ei percepta gratia cum aliis civibus et amicis suis Deo pariter servientibus ad Africam et propriam domum agrosque remeare. Ad quos veniens, et in quibus constitutus ferme triennio,[1] et a se iam alienatis, cum his qui eidem adhaerebant Deo vivebat, ieiuniis, orationibus, bonis operibus, in lege Domini meditans die ac nocte.[2] Et de his quae sibi Deus cogitanti atque oranti intellecta revelabat, et praesentes et absentes sermonibus ac libris docebat. Contigit forte eodem tempore, ut quidam ex his, quos dicunt agentes in rebus,[3] apud Hipponem-regium[4] constitutus, bene Christianus Deumque timens, comperta eius bona fama atque doctrina, desideraret atque optaret eum videre, promittens se posse mundi huius omnes contemnere cupiditates atque illecebras, si aliquando ex eius ore Dei verbum audire meruisset. Quod cum ad se fideli fuisset relatione delatum, liberari animam cupiens ab huius

4 et (2) *om. ABHK* 7 iam *om. CDEFHJ edd.*, nam eius pater iam *K* 9 rhetoricam *CD*F edd. Q exhibet* rhetor. *Cf. Aug. Conf. V vii 13*: quas tunc iam rhetor Carthaginis adulescentes docebam 10 deo ipse *DEFHJK edd.*, ipse *om. C* 16 alienatis] *ACEFHabcreghklmno pqr*, alienatus *DJ*, alienatis curis *K*, alienatis pristinis vitiis *B*, alienatis curis secularibus *edd his*]*ABCDEFHJKabcdeghjklmnopqr*, iis *edd* 17 bonisque *C*J edd.*, et bonis *K* 18 iis *edd* 19 cogitandi atque orandi *A*, congitando atque orando *A**, cogitante atque orante *B* 21 iis *edd* 27 liberare *D*J edd. Q exhibet* liberari.

man sought to do: "If thou wilt be perfect, sell that thou hast and give to the poor and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come and follow me." He also desired to build on the foundation of faith,—not on wood, hay and stubble, but on gold, silver and precious stones. He was now more than thirty years of age, his mother alone surviving and clinging to him, exulting more in his determination to serve God than in the hope of offspring after the flesh. His father had already died before this time. He also gave notice to his pupils in rhetoric to secure another teacher, as he had resolved to serve God.

CHAPTER III

The retirement of Augustine

When he had received the grace of God, he determined, with others of his neighbors and friends who served God with him, to return to Africa to his own home and lands to which he came and in which he was settled for almost three years. He now gave up these possessions and began to live with those who had also consecrated themselves to God, in fastings and prayers and good works, meditating day and night in the Law of the Lord. And the things which God revealed to him through prayer and meditation, he taught both those present and absent in his sermons and books. Now it happened at this time that one of those whom they call "agents in affairs" who lived at Hippo Regius, a good Christian who feared God, heard of his good fame and learning. He earnestly sought to see him, declaring that he was ready to reject all the passions and allurements of this world if he were but counted worthy to hear the Word of God from his lips. When this was brought to Augustine by trustworthy report, he longed to rescue that

vitae periculis morteque aeterna, ad memoratam ultro atque confestim venit civitatem, et hominem visum allocutus frequentius atque exhortatus est, quantum Deus donabat, ut quod Deo voverat reddidisset. Ac se ille de die in diem facturum pollicebatur, nec tamen in eius tunc hoc implevit praesentia. Sed vacare utique et inane esse[5] non potuit, quod per tale vas mundum in honore, utile Domino ad omne opus bonum paratum,[6] in omni loco divina gerebat providentia.

CAPUT IV

Capitur ad presbyterii gradum

Eodem itaque tempore in ecclesia Hipponensi Catholica Valerius[1] sanctus episcopatum gerebat. Qui cum flagitante ecclesiastica necessitate, de providendo et ordinando presbytero civitati plebem Dei alloqueretur et exhortaretur, iam scientes Catholici sancti Augustini propositum et doctrinam, manu iniecta (quoniam et idem in populo securus et ignarus[2] quid futurum esset astabat; solebat autem laicus, ut nobis dicebat, ab eis tantum ecclesiis, quae non haberent episcopos, suam abstinere praesentiam); eum ergo tenuerunt et, ut in talibus consuetum est, episcopo ordinandum intulerunt, omnibus id uno consensu et desiderio fieri perficique petentibus, magnoque studio et clamore flagitantibus, ubertim eo flente: nonnullis quidem lacrimas eius, ut nobis ipse retulit, tunc superbe interpretantibus, et tamquam eum consolantibus ac dicentibus, quia et locus presbyterii, licet ipse maiore dignus esset, propinquaret tamen episcopatui; cum ille homo Dei, ut

4 redderet *E*J Sal. Q exhibet* reddidisset ac] haec *CDFQ*, hac *E*, hoc *E** 6 vacare] *ADEFHJKejknopr*, vacari *Bdgm*, vacuum *A*CE*Qch, om. lq* 7 mundum]+et, Domino]+et *CF edd* 17 laicus] vicos *A* 25 maiora *DFHK*, maiori *BCD*EJ. Cf.* graviora [pati] dignos: *DCD. V xxiii, codd. discrepantibus, pleris exhibentibus* graviora dignos, graviore dignos *vel* graviori dignos; id erant digni: *DCD. XXI xviii, codd. omnes, ed. Hoffmann* 26 appropinquaret *edd. Q exhibet* propinquaret.

soul from the dangers of this life and from eternal death. So of his own accord he went in haste to that famous city and when he had seen the man he spoke to him frequently and exhorted him that in so far as God had blessed him he should pay to God what he had vowed. Day after day he promised to do so, but did not fulfil this while Augustine was present. And yet surely in this case that could not have proved vain and ineffectual which divine Providence was everywhere accomplishing by means of this vessel purged unto honor, meet for the Master's use and prepared unto every good work.

CHAPTER IV

He is seized for the office of presbyter

Now at this time the holy Valerius was bishop in the Catholic church at Hippo. But owing to the increasing demands of ecclesiastical duty he addressed the people of God and exhorted them to provide and ordain a presbyter for the city. The Catholics, already acquainted with the life and teaching of the holy Augustine, laid hands on him—for he was standing there among the people secure and unaware of what was about to happen. For while a layman he was careful, as he told us, to withhold his presence solely from those churches which had no bishops. So they laid hands on him and, as is the custom in such cases, brought him to the bishop to be ordained, for all with common consent desired that this should be done and accomplished; and they demanded it with great zeal and clamor, while he wept freely. But some, as he himself later told us, at the time ascribed his tears to wounded pride and by way of consolation told him that while he was worthy of greater honor the office of presbyter was but little inferior to the bishopric. But the man of God, as he told us,

nobis retulit, maiori consideratione intelligeret et gemeret, quam multa et magna suae vitae pericula de regimine et gubernatione ecclesiae impendere iam ac provenire speraret, atque ideo fieret.[3] Et eorum ut voluerunt completum est desiderium.[4]

CAPUT V

Monasterium instituit

Factusque presbyter[1] monasterium[2] intra ecclesiam mox instituit, et cum Dei servis vivere coepit secundum modum et regulam sub sanctis apostolis constitutam.[3] Maxime ut nemo quidquam proprium in illa societate haberet, sed eis essent omnia communia, et distribuerentur unicuique sicut opus erat,[4] quod iam ipse prior fecerat, dum de transmarinis ad sua remeasset. Sanctus vero Valerius ordinator eius, ut erat vir pius et Deum timens, exsultabat et Deo gratias agebat. Preces quas frequentissime fudisset suas exauditas a Domino fuisse narrabat, ut sibi divinitus homo concederetur talis, qui posset verbo Dei et doctrina salubri Ecclesiam Domini aedificare: cui rei se homo natura Graecus, minusque Latina lingua et litteris instructus, minus utilem pervidebat. Eidem presbytero potestatem dedit se coram in ecclesia Evangelium praedicandi, ac frequentissime tractandi, contra usum quidem et consuetudinem Africanarum ecclesiarum.[5] Unde etiam eum nonnulli episcopi detrahebant. Sed ille vir venerabilis ac providus, in orientalibus ecclesiis id ex more fieri sciens et certus, et utilitati ecclesiae consulens, obtrectantium non curabat linguas, dummodo factitaretur a presbytero, quod a se episcopo impleri

3 speraret] *ABCDEFHJKabcdcjmnopqr,* sperasset *h,* spectaret *cdd* 8 factus ergo *cdd* 10 substantiis ab apostolis *A* 12 distribueretur *BCDEHJ edd.,* distribuerent *K,* distribueret *F* 13 remeassent *A,* remearet *C* 16 fudisset]+deo *B,* gratias agebat, suas exauditas a domino fuisse preces, quas se frequentissime fudisse narrabat *DEHJK edd., quibus consentit C* preces *ante* a domino *transferens, et F* narratur *pro* narrabat *exhibens* 20 et eidem *CD*EJK edd.,* et idem *DF* 21 securam *A,* se curam ecclesiae *B,* coram se *CDFH edd.,* se *om. E* 23 eum *om. BDEFHK, add. D*,* ei *J edd.,* ei etiam *C*

understood with greater comprehension and mourned as he apprehended the many imminent dangers which threatened his life in the direction and government of the church, and for this reason he wept. But their desire was accomplished as they wished.

CHAPTER V

He establishes a monastery

Soon after he had been made presbyter he established a monastery within the church and began to live with the servants of God according to the manner and rule instituted by the holy apostles. The principal rule of this society was that no one should possess anything of his own, but that all things should be held in common and be distributed to each one as he had need, as Augustine had formerly done after he returned to his native home from across the sea. But the holy Valerius who ordained him, a good man fearing God, rejoiced and gave thanks to God. He said the Lord had heard the prayers which he had unceasingly poured forth that divine Providence would grant him such a man, who by his salutary teaching of the Word of God could edify the Church of the Lord. For Valerius, a Greek by birth and less versed in the Latin language and literature, saw that he himself was less useful for this end. Therefore he gave his presbyter the right of preaching the Gospel in his presence in the church and very frequently of holding public discussions—contrary to the practice and custom of the African churches. On this account some bishops found fault with him. But the venerable and prudent man knew well that this was the custom in the Eastern churches and considered only the welfare of the Church and took no notice of the words of his detractors, if only his presbyter might do that which he saw could not be accomplished

minime posse cernebat. Unde accensa et ardens levata super candelabrum lucerna, omnibus qui in domo erant lucebat.[6] Et postea currente et volante huiusmodi fama, bono praecedente exemplo, accepta ab episcopis potestate, presbyteri nonnulli coram episcopis populis tractare coeperunt.

CAPUT VI

Conflictus Augustini cum Fortunato Manichaeo

Sane in illa tunc Hipponensi urbe Manichaeorum pestilentia quam plurimos vel cives vel peregrinos et infecerat et penetraverat, seducente et decipiente eiusdem haeresis quodam presbytero nomine Fortunato,[1] ibidem conversante atque manente. Interea Hipponenses cives vel peregrini Christiani tam Catholici quam etiam Donatistae adeunt presbyterum, ac deposcunt, ut illum hominem Manichaeorum presbyterum, quem doctum credebant, videret, et cum eodem de Lege tractaret. Quod idem, ut scriptum est, paratus ad confessionem omni poscenti se rationem de fide et spe quae in Deum est,[2] potensque exhortari in doctrina sana, et contradicentes redarguere,[3] minime renuit. Sed utrum etiam ille hoc fieri vellet, sciscitatus est. At illi confestim ad illum Fortunatum id detulerunt, petentes, exhortantes ac flagitantes, quod id minime recusaret. Sane quoniam idem Fortunatus iam apud Carthaginem sanctum noverat Augustinum adhuc in eodem secum errore constitutum, cum eodem congredi pavitabat. Verumtamen suorum maxime instantia coactus ac verecundatus, promisit in comminus se esse venturum, certamenque disputandi subiturum. Unde condicto die et loco convenerunt in unum, concur-

1 elevata *cdd* 5 coeperunt]+verbum dei *cdd., om. Qabcdeghjklmn opqr* 12 vel] et *cdd* 13 adeunt]+augustinum *BEH* 16 confessionem] responsionem *CDEFJ edd* 17 deo *HK,* domino *J* 20 ipsum *CDEFHJK edd* 21 pententes]+et *CDEFHK edd.* ac flagitantes *om. HK.*

by himself as bishop. Wherefore this burning and shining light was placed upon a candlestick and gave light to all who were in the house. And after the report of this had rapidly spread by reason of the good example which preceded it, some other presbyters by permission of their bishops began to preach to the people in their presence.

CHAPTER VI

The conflict of Augustine with Fortunatus, a Manichaean

Now in the city of Hippo at this time the plague of the Manichaeans had infected and permeated very many, both citizens and strangers, who were seduced and deceived by a certain presbyter of that heresy, Fortunatus by name, who lived and dwelt there. Meanwhile the Christians of Hippo, whether citizens or strangers, Catholics and even Donatists, came to the presbyter Augustine and demanded that he should meet this presbyter of the Manichaeans, whom they regarded as a learned man, and argue with him about the Law. This he in no wise refused: for, as it is written, he was "ready to give an answer to every man that asked him a reason of the hope and faith that is toward God, and was able by sound doctrine both to exhort and refute the gainsayers." But he sought to learn whether Fortunatus were willing that this should take place. So they at once reported the matter to Fortunatus asking, urging and even demanding that he should on no account refuse. But since Fortunatus had previously known the holy Augustine at Carthage when he was still involved with himself in this same error, he was afraid to meet him. Nevertheless he was greatly urged and shamed by the insistency of his followers and promised that he would meet him face to face and enter the contest of debate. So they met at an appointed time

rentibus quam plurimis studiosis turbisque curiosis, et apertis notarii[4] tabulis, disputatio est coepta et primo, et secundo finita est die. In qua ille Manichaeus praeceptor, ut se gestorum continet fides,[5] nec Catholicam assertionem potuit vacuare, nec Manichaeorum sectam subnixam veritate valuit comprobare: sed responsione deficiens ultima, collaturum se cum suis maioribus ea, quae refellere non potuit, prosecutus est; et si sibi forte de his satis minime fecissent, suae animae consulturum: atque ita ab omnibus, apud quos magnus et doctus videbatur, nihil valuisse in suae sectae assertione iudicatus est. Qua ille confusione affectus, et sequenti tempore de Hipponensi civitate profectus, ad eam amplius non remeavit: ac sic per memoratum Dei hominem omnium cordibus, vel qui aderant, vel qui absentes illa quae gesta sunt cognoverant, error ille ablatus, Catholica est intimata ac retenta sincera religio.

CAPUT VII

Libri et tractatus Augustini contra fidei hostes ab ipsis etiam haereticis ingenti ardore excepti

Et docebat ac praedicabat ille privatim et publice, in domo et in ecclesia salutis verbum cum omni fiducia adversus Africanas haereses, maximeque contra Donatistas, Manichaeos et paganos, libris confectis et repentinis sermonibus,[1] ineffabiliter admirantibus Christianis et collaudantibus, et hoc ipsum ubi poterant non tacentibus, et diffamantibus. Atque, Dei dono,

2 notariorum *E edd.*, notariis *HK* est] et *BJ, om. CDEFK edd.*, disputatione coepta *H* et primo] et *om. CDEFHJK edd* prima et secunda *J* 3 se *om. edd* 4 evacuare *JK* 5 subnexam veritati *B*, veritate subnixam *CDEFJ edd.*, veritate subnixa *H*, veritatem subnixam *K* 6 ultime *H*, ultimam *F*, ultimo *Ben. Mi* 12 ac sic....54, 11 manifestata est *om. J* 20 omni *om. A* 23 collaetantibus *edd* 24 et] sed *CD*K edd* sicque adiuvante domino *edd.*, sicque dono dei pax in africa (africana *perperam Sal.*) ecclesia orta est apud quam multo tempore *C. Q exhibet* atque dei dono.

and place, where many who were interested and crowds of the curious quickly gathered. When the reporters' books had been opened, the discussion was begun on the first day and ended on the second. In this discussion the Manichaean teacher, as the evidence of the record proves, could neither refute the Catholic argument, nor could he prove that the sect of the Manichaeans was founded on truth. But failing in his final answer, he declared that he would refer to his superiors the arguments which he had been unable to refute, and if perchance they should not satisfy him on these matters, he would consult the welfare of his own soul. Thereupon all who had formerly regarded him as great and learned now judged that he had accomplished nothing in the defence of his own sect. Overwhelmed with confusion he left the city of Hippo soon after and returned to it no more. Thus this error was removed by that memorable man of God from the hearts of all those present or those absent who learned what had been done; and the Catholic faith was declared and upheld as the true religion.

CHAPTER VII

The books and treatises of Augustine against the enemies of the faith are eagerly received even by the heretics themselves

In private and in public, at home and in the church, Augustine taught and preached the Word of salvation with all confidence against the African heresies, especially against the Donatists, Manichaeans and pagans both in his finished books and extemporaneous sermons, the Christians, who did not keep silent but spread it abroad wherever they could, being filled with unspeakable joy and praise. And so, with God's help, the

levare in Africa Ecclesia Catholica exorsa est caput quae multo tempore illis convalescentibus haereticis, praecipueque rebaptizante Donati parte, maiore multitudine Afrorum, seducta et pressa et oppressa iacebat. Et hos eius libros atque tractatus mirabili Dei gratia procedentes ac profluentes, instructos rationis copia atque auctoritate sanctarum Scripturarum, ipsi quoque haeretici concurrentes, cum Catholicis ingenti ardore audiebant, et quisquis, ut voluit et potuit, notarios adhibentes,[2] ea quae dicebantur excepta describentes. Et inde iam per totum Africae corpus praeclara doctrina odorque suavissimus Christi[3] diffusa et manifestata[4] est, congaudente quoque id comperta Ecclesia Dei transmarina. Quoniam sicut patitur unum membrum, compatiuntur omnia membra: ita cum glorificatur unum membrum, congaudent omnia membra.[5]

CAPUT VIII

Designatur episcopus vivo Valerio et a Megalio primate ordinatur

Ille vero beatus senex Valerius ceteris ex hoc amplius exsultans, et Deo gratias agens de concesso sibi speciali beneficio, metuere coepit, ut est humanus animus, ne ab alia ecclesia sacerdote privata, ad episcopatum quaereretur, et sibi auferretur: nam et id provenisset, nisi hoc idem episcopus cognito, ad locum secretum eum transire curasset, atque occultatum a quaerentibus minime inveniri fecisset. Unde amplius formidans idem venerabilis senex, et sciens se corpore et aetate in-

2 illic *edd., om. C* 3 maiorem multitudinem *cdd. Q exhibet* maiore multitudine 4 seducta pressa et oppressa *CD**, seducta et oppressa *K edd.*, et pressa *cras. E. Q exhibet* et pressa sive *edd* 8 adhibens *CD**, adhibens etiam *edd. Q exhibet* adhibentes 9 descripsit *CD* edd.*, descripserunt *Q* 11 diffusa et manifestata] *ABCDFHJKQdg* (manifesta *cr*), diffusus et manifestatus *Eachlopq edd.* (manifestus *k*), diffusus est et manifestus *m*, diffusus est *n* 50, 12 ac sic.... 11 manifestata est *om. J* congaudentes *A*, congaudete *B*, congaudet *J*, congaudebat *C* id comperta] *BCQbcegj*, id comperto *ADEFHK hkmopr* (id *om. d*), hoc comperto *J*, eo comperto *n edd.*, id compertum *lq* 12 sicut]+dum *BCDEHJK cdd* 13 ita]+etiam *edd* 22 nisi]+et *edd*

Catholic Church in Africa began to lift its head, having for a long time lain prostrate, seduced, oppressed and overpowered, while the heretics were gaining strength, especially the rebaptizing Donatist party which comprised a large multitude of the Africans. Even the heretics themselves gathered together and with the Catholics listened most eagerly to these books and treatises which issued and flowed forth by the wonderful grace of God, filled with abundance of reason and the authority of Holy Scripture; each one also who would or could bringing reporters and taking down what was said. And thence throughout all Africa, the glorious doctrine and most sweet savor of Christ was spread abroad and made manifest, while the Church of God across the sea heard of it and also rejoiced. For as when one member suffers, all the members suffer with it, so when one member is honored, all the members rejoice with it.

CHAPTER VIII

He is chosen bishop while Valerius is still living, and is ordained by the primate Megalius

But the blessed and aged Valerius rejoiced more than others on this account and gave thanks to God for the special blessing bestowed upon him. He began to fear, however, for such is human nature, that Augustine would be sought for the episcopal office and be taken from him by some other church which lacked a bishop. And this would have happened, had not the bishop himself, since he knew of it, taken care that he should remove to a secret place, and had thus hidden him so that he could not be found by those who sought him. But since the venerable old man still feared this and realized that he was aged and very infirm, he communicated by a secret let-

firmissimum, egit secretis litteris apud primatem episcoporum Carthaginensem,[1] allegans imbecillitatem corporis sui aetatisque gravitatem, et obsecrans ut Hipponensi ecclesiae ordinaretur episcopus, quod suae cathedrae non tam succederet, sed consacerdos accederet Augustinus. Et quae optavit et rogavit satagens rescripto impetravit. Et postea petito ad visitandum et adveniente ad ecclesiam Hipponensem tunc primate Numidiae Megalio Calamensi episcopo,[2] Valerio antistite, episcopis qui forte tunc aderant, et clericis omnibus Hipponensibus, et universae plebi inopinatam cunctis suam insinuavit voluntatem: omnibusque audientibus gratulantibus, atque id fieri perficique ingenti desiderio clamantibus, episcopatum suscipere contra morem Ecclesiae[3] suo vivente episcopo presbyter recusabat. Dumque illi fieri solere ab omnibus suaderetur, atque id ignaro transmarinis et Africanis Ecclesiae exemplis provocaretur, compulsus atque coactus succubuit et maioris loci ordinationem suscepit. Quod in se postea fieri non debuisse, ut vivo episcopo suo ordinaretur, et dixit et scripsit, propter concilii universalis vetitum, quod iam ordinatus edidicit: nec quod sibi factum esse doluit, aliis fieri voluit.[4] Unde etiam sategit, ut conciliis constitueretur episcoporum,[5] ab ordinatoribus debere ordinandis vel ordinatis omnium statuta sacerdotum in notitiam esse deferenda atque ita factum est.

4 quo *CD*EFJK edd.*, qui *DH* sed] quam *CD** 8 episcopo]+ et *edd* valerius antistes *CD*EH edd. Q exhibet* valerio antistite 10 insinuante *BJQ*, insinuat *CDEFHK*, insinuat tunc *edd* 11 audientibus]+et *HK edd* 15 probaretur *BCD*EFHJK edd* 16 succubuit]+et episcopatus curam *edd. Q om* 17 Quod....60, 23 faciebant *om. J* suo episcopo *CDEFHK edd* 19 didicit *BCDFK edd* 20 sategit] *DEFH edd.*, satis egit *K*, satagit *ABC*. satagit *videtur scripsisse Possidius sicut testantur codd. ABC. Dubitanter* sategit *scripsi codd. alios secutus* 21 deberi *E edd* 23 atque....est *cum sententia sequenti edd*

ter with the Bishop of Carthage, the episcopal Primate, mentioning the weakness of his body and the burden of his years, and beseeching that Augustine might be ordained bishop of the church of Hippo, because he would not in that case then succeed to his office, but would be associated with him as coadjutor-bishop. And what he thus sought and desired he obtained in a satisfactory answer. Later on, accordingly, when Megalius, Bishop of Calama, and at that time primate of Numidia, had come at his request to visit the church at Hippo, unexpectedly to all the bishop Valerius made his desire known to the bishops who happened at that time to be present, and to all the clergy of Hippo and to all the people. But while all who heard rejoiced and clamored most eagerly that this should be done and accomplished, the presbyter refused to accept the episcopate contrary to the custom of the Church, since his bishop was still living. However, when they had convinced him that this was generally done and had appealed to examples from the churches across the sea as well as in Africa, though he had been ignorant of it before, under compulsion and constraint he yielded and accepted the ordination to the higher office. Later he both said and wrote that this should not have been done in his case, namely to ordain him while his bishop was still living, because of the prohibition of the Ecumenical Council of which he learned after his ordination; for that which he regretted to have had done in his case he did not wish to have done to others. Therefore he endeavored to have it decreed by the councils of the bishops that the rules governing all the priests should be made known by the ordaining bishops to those about to be ordained and to those already ordained. And so it was done.

CAPUT IX

Pugnat cum Donatistis

Et episcopus multo instantius ac ferventius maiore auctoritate, non adhuc in una tantum regione, sed ubicunque rogatus venisset, verbum salutis aeternae alacriter ac gnaviter pullulante atque crescente Domini Ecclesia praedicabat, paratus semper poscentibus, reddere rationem de fide et spe, quae in Deum est.[1] Et eius dicta atque excepta, maxime Donatistae[2] in eadem Hipponensi vel vicina manentes civitate, ad suos deferebant episcopos. Quae cum audissent et contra forte aliquid dicerent, aut a suis refellebantur, aut eadem responsa ad sanctum Augustinum deferebantur, eaque comperta patienter et leniter (et ut scriptum est, cum timore et tremore salutem hominum operabatur:[3] ostendens quam nihil refellere illi voluerint ac valuerint, quamque verum manifestumque sit, quod Ecclesiae Dei fides tenet ac didicit) et haec diebus ac noctibus ab eodem iugiter agebantur. Nam et epistolas privatas ad quosque eiusdem erroris episcopos, eminentes scilicet, et laicos dedit, ratione reddita admonens atque exhortans, ut vel ab illa se pravitate corrigerent vel certe ad disputationem venirent. At illi causa diffidentiae ne quidem unquam rescribere voluerunt, sed irati furiosa loquebantur, atque seductorem et deceptorem animarum Augustinum esse, et privatim et publice conclamabant; et ut lupum occidendum esse in defensionem gregis sui, dicebant et tractabant: omniaque peccata a Deo indubitanter esse credendum posse dimitti his, qui hoc facere ac perficere potuissent, nec Deum timebant, nec hominibus erubescentes. Et ut eorum causae diffidentia cunctis in-

3 ut *CDEF edd.*, at *H* 6 praedicaret *edd. Q exhibet* praedicabat 8 deo *CHK* 9 manente *A* 10 episcopos deferebant *DEFHK,* episcopos referebant *D*,* referebant episcopos *C* Quae....comperta] quae vir beatus comperta *CD** 12 ad] aut *A* eaque comperta] *ABDEFHKQbcrghjlmnqr,* et quae comperta *p,* quae comperta *k,* eoque comperto *ae,* eisque compertis *o edd* 13 ac leniter *CDEFHK edd* 14 omnium *FK edd. QL vel M exhibent* hominum referre illi *BDEFHK,* auferre *C,* illi refellere *edd* 16 dicit *BDEF,* docet *CH edd* 18 et eminentes scilicet laicos *edd. Q exhibet* scilicet et

CHAPTER IX

He contends with the Donatists

As bishop he preached the Word of eternal salvation much more earnestly and fervently and with greater authority, no longer in one district only, but wherever he went in answer to requests, ready always to give an answer to every man that asked of him a reason of the faith and hope which is toward God. And the Church of the Lord flourished and grew rapidly and strongly. The Donatists in particular, who lived in Hippo and the neighboring towns, brought his addresses and writings to their bishops. And if, when they had heard these, they perchance made any reply, they were either refuted by their own followers or else their replies were brought to the holy Augustine; and when he had reviewed them patiently and calmly (and, as it is written, he worked out the salvation of men with fear and trembling, showing how they would and could refute nothing and how true and manifest is that doctrine which the Church of God holds and has understood); on these things he labored continually by day and by night. He even wrote private letters to prominent bishops of this error and to laymen, urging and exhorting them by the arguments which he offered that they should either abandon the error or at least enter into a discussion with him. In their distrust they were never willing even to answer him in writing, but in anger spoke furiously, privately and publicly declaring that Augustine was a seducer and deceiver of souls. They said and preached that the wolf must be killed in defence of their flock, and neither fearing God nor ashamed before men, they taught the people to believe that whoever should be able to do this would undoubtedly have all his sins forgiven of God. Meanwhile Augustine sought to make known to all their lack

21 causae diffidentia *EH Sal. Mi* 23 atque deceptorem *H, om. K,* deceptoremque *edd* et privatim] et *om. A* 26 iis *edd. Q exhibet* his 27 ac perficere *om. A* timentes *CDEFHK edd* 28 reverentes *BQ* causa diffidentiae *BH*

notesceret elaboravit, et publicis gestis conventi, non sunt ausi conferre.

CAPUT X

Circumcellionum furor

Habebant etiam iidem Donatistae per suas pene omnes ecclesias inauditum hominum genus perversum ac violentum, velut sub professione continentium ambulantes, qui Circumcelliones[1] dicebantur. Et erant in ingenti numero et turbis per omnes fere Africanas regiones constituti. Qui malis imbuti doctoribus audacia superba et temeritate illicita, nec suis, nec alienis aliquando parcebant, contra ius fasque in causis intercedentes hominibus: et nisi obedissent, damnis gravissimis et caedibus afficiebantur, armati diversis telis, bacchantes per agros villasque usque ad sanguinis effusionem accedere non metuentes. Sed dum verbum Dei sedulo praedicaretur, et cum his qui oderant pacem, pacis ratio haberetur, illi loquentem debellabant gratis. Et cum adversus eorum dogma veritas innotesceret, qui volebant et poterant, sese inde vel eripiebant vel subducebant, et paci atque unitati Ecclesiae cum suis quibus poterant cohaerebant. Unde illi sui erroris minui congregationes videntes, atque augmentis Ecclesiae invidentes, accensi exardescebant ira gravissima, et intolerabiles persecutiones unitati Ecclesiae compactis faciebant: ipsisque Catholicis sacerdotibus et ministris aggressiones diurnas atque nocturnas, direptionesque rerum omnium inferebant. Nam et multos Dei

7 circelliones *ABQ* 9 pene *CDEFK edd. Q exhibet* fere 11 in causis interdicentes *Sal.*, incautis interdicentes *Ben. Mi* 13 afficiebant *Ben. Mi* 16 loquentes *CDEFHK* 17 et quam *A*, et qua *B*, cumque *edd* 19 unitati] *BCDEFHK edd.*, pax Ecclesiae atque unitas *paulo post scribit Possidius in capitulo undecimo*, sanitati *A* 20 congregationes minui *edd* 23 compacti *B edd.*, cum pactis *C* faciebant] *incipit G* 56, 17 Quod....faciebant *om. J* sacerdotibus catholicis *G edd.*, iustis catholicisque sacerdotibus *H*

of confidence in their own cause, and when they met in public conferences they did not dare to debate with him.

CHAPTER X

The madness of the Circumcellions

These Donatists had in nearly all their churches an unusual kind of men, perverse and violent, going about under a profession of continency, who were called Circumcellions. They were very numerous and formed themselves into bands throughout almost all the regions of Africa. Inspired by evil teachers, in their insolent boldness and lawless temerity they never spared either their own or strangers, and in violation of right and justice deprived men of their civil rights; and unless men obeyed, they were visited with the severest losses and injuries, when armed with every kind of weapon, the Circumcellions madly overran the farms and estates and did not even hesitate to shed human blood. But while the Word of God was diligently preached, whenever any plan of peace was suggested to those who hated peace, they freely assailed whoever talked of it. And when, despite their teachings, the truth became known, those who would and could do so either openly tore themselves away from them or secretly withdrew and together with as many of their friends as they could obtain, adhered to the peace and unity of the Church. As a result, seeing that the congregations of their error were growing smaller, and being envious of the growth of the Church, these heretics were inflamed and burned with fiercest wrath and with the help of their confederates began intolerable persecutions against the unity of the Church. They made daily and nightly attacks even upon the Catholic priests and ministers and robbed them of all their possessions; and they crippled many

servos caedibus debilitaverunt. Aliquibus etiam calcem cum aceto in oculos miserunt,[2] aliosque occiderunt. Unde etiam suis iidem Donatistae rebaptizatores in odium veniebant.

CAPUT XI

Profectus Ecclesiae per Augustinum

Proficiente porro doctrina divina, sub sancto et cum sancto Augustino in monasterio Deo servientes, ecclesiae Hipponensi clerici ordinari coeperunt. Ac deinde innotescente et clarescente de die in diem Ecclesiae Catholicae praedicationis veritate, sanctorumque servorum Dei proposito, continentia et paupertate profunda, ex monasterio quod per illum memorabilem virum et esse et crescere coeperat, magno desiderio poscere atque accipere episcopos et clericos pax Ecclesiae atque unitas et coepit primo, et postea consecuta est. Nam ferme decem[1] erant quos ipse nobis sanctos ac venerabiles viros continentes et doctos beatissimus Augustinus diversis ecclesiis, nonnullis quoque eminentioribus, rogatus dedit. Similiterque et ipsi ex illo sanctorum proposito venientes, Domini ecclesiis propagatis, et monasteria instituerunt, et studio crescente aedificationis verbi Dei, ceteris ecclesiis promotos fratres ad suscipiendum sacerdotium praestiterunt. Unde per multos et in multis salubris fidei, spei et caritatis Ecclesiae innotescente doctrina, non solum per omnes Africae partes, verum etiam in transmarinis, et libros editos atque in Graecum sermonem translatos,[2] ab illo uno homine et per illum multis, favente Deo,

6 proficientes *BH* 7 servientes]+et *BH* 9 ecclesia catholica *P* 10 continentiae *CFG*, continente paupertatem profundam *P* 12 coeperit *A* 14 consequenda est *A* 15 erant *om. BCDEFGHJK edd* quos] episcopos *CD** nobis] novi *BGHK edd.*, novus (?) *eras. D* 16 doctissimos *CDEF edd* beatus *CDF edd* continentes....augustinus *om. HK* 18 illorum *CDEFK Ben. Mi. Q exhibet* illo 24 per libros *edd* 25 multos *BDGHK*, a multis *CF*

of the servants of God by tortures. They also threw lime mixed with vinegar in the eyes of some and others they murdered. Wherefore these rebaptizing Donatists came to be hated even by their own.

CHAPTER XI

Progress of the Church through Augustine

Now as the divine teachings prospered, the clergy in the church at Hippo who had served God under and with the holy Augustine in the monastery began to be ordained. And the truth taught by the Catholic Church, the manner of life of the holy servants of God, their continence and abject poverty became more known and celebrated day by day. Then the Church, for the sake of its peace and unity, first began to demand with great eagerness bishops and clergy from the monastery which had begun to exist and grow through the efforts of that memorable man, and later obtained them. And there were about ten men, holy and venerable, continent and learned, whom the most blessed Augustine furnished in answer to our request to various churches, some of them quite prominent. And likewise these too who came from that fellowship of holy men increased the churches of the Lord, and also established monasteries, and as their zeal for the spreading of the Word of God grew, they furnished other churches with their brethren whom they promoted to the priesthood. Therefore the teaching of the salutary faith, hope and love of the Church became known through many and to many, not only throughout all parts of Africa, but even in the churches across the sea, through the books which were edited and translated into the Greek tongue. Thus by that one man, and through him to many, by the grace of God it was all brought

cuncta innotescere meruerunt. Atque hinc, ut scriptum est, peccator videns irascebatur, dentibus suis fremebat, et tabescebat:[3] servi autem tui, ut dictum est, cum his qui oderant pacem, erant pacifici, et cum loquerentur, debellabantur gratis ab eis.[4]

CAPUT XII

Augustinus paratas sibi insidias errore duc[a]toris devitat

Aliquotiens vero etiam vias armati iidem Circumcelliones famulo Dei Augustino obsederunt, dum forte iret rogatus ad visitandas, instruendas et exhortandas Catholicas plebes, quod ipsum frequentissime faciebat. Et aliquando contigit ut illi succenturiati[1] hactenus perderent captionem: evenit enim Dei quidem providentia, sed ducatoris[2] hominis errore, ut per aliam viam cum suis comitibus sacerdos quo tendebat venisset, atque per hunc postea cognovit errorem manus impias abisse,[3] et cum omnibus liberatori Deo gratias egit. Et omnino suo more illi nec laicis nec clericis pepercerunt, sicut publica contestantur gesta.

Inter ea silendum non est quod ad laudem Dei per illius tam egregii in Ecclesia viri studium domusque Dei zelum[4] adversus praedictos rebaptizatores Donatistas gestum et perfectum est. Cum forte unus ex his,[5] quos de suo monasterio et clero[6] episcopos Ecclesiae propagaverat, ad suam curam pertinentem Calamensis ecclesiae dioecesim visitaret, et quae didicerat pro pace Ecclesiae contra illam haeresim praedicaret, factum est, ut medio itinere eorum insidias incurrisset, et pervasum

2 multa *CDHK edd.*, multam *F*, cunctos *B* 2 frendebat *GHK edd. Q exhibet* fremebat 3 tui] dei *CEF edd. Q exhibet* tui iis *edd* 8 contra famulum dei augustinum *CDEJ edd.* (augustino *F*). *Q exhibet* famulo dei augustino 9 id ipsum *H*, ipsud *K*, etiam *BG*, ipse *CDEFJ edd* 12 seductoris *BCDFK*, sed ductoris *Sal* 14 hunc]+quem *DEFGHJK edd* abisse] evenisse *B*, evasisse *C*, evasisset *DEFGHJK edd* 15 cum]+in *B edd* egisset *BDEFGHJK edd.*, egisse *C* et omnino] sed *C*, et *om. J edd* 16 illi]+furentes *C Sal* 18 Inter ea....72, 10 proposueram *om. HK*, Inter ea....84, 2 veritate *om. J* 21 iis *edd*

to public knowledge. And so, as it is written, the wicked man saw it and was grieved; he gnashed with his teeth and melted away. But Thy servants, as it is said, were for peace with those who hated peace and whenever they spoke they were willingly overcome by them.

CHAPTER XII

By the error of his guide Augustine escapes an ambuscade laid for him

But several times these Circumcellions, fully armed, beset the roads even against Augustine, the servant of God, when, as it chanced, he went on request to visit, instruct and exhort the Catholic people, as he frequently did. Now it once happened that although they were out in full force, they yet failed to capture him. For through the error of his guide and yet, in fact, by the providence of God, it happened that the bishop with his companions came to his destination by a different road, and he learned later that through this error he had escaped their impious hands, and together with all he gave thanks to God, the Deliverer. And they, according to their custom, spared neither laymen nor clergy, as the public records witness.

In this connection we must not pass over in silence the things which were done and accomplished to the glory of God by the ardor of that man, so distinguished in the Church, and in his zeal for the house of God, against the rebaptizing Donatists mentioned above. When, on one occasion, one of the bishops he had furnished to the Church from his monastery and clergy visited the diocese of the church of Calama which was under his care and, for the peace of the Church, had preached against the heresy such things as he had learned, it happened that in the midst of his journey he fell into their

cum omnibus illi comitantibus, sublatis illis animalibus et rebus, iniuriis et caede eum gravissima affecissent. De qua re ne pacis amplius Ecclesiae provectus impediretur, defensor Ecclesiae inter leges non siluit.[7] Et praeceptus est Crispinus,[8] qui hisdem Donatistis in Calamensi civitate et regione episcopus fuit, praedicatus scilicet multi temporis et doctus, ad mulctam teneri aurariam publicis legibus contra haereticos constitutam. Qui resultans legibus praesentatus cum apud proconsulem se negaret haereticum, oborta est necessitas, ut illi recedente Ecclesiae defensore,[9] a Catholico episcopo resisteretur et convinceretur eum esse, quod se fuisse negaverat; quoniam si ab eodem dissimularetur, forte Catholicus episcopus ab ignorantibus haereticus crederetur, illo se quod erat negante, atque ita ex hac desidia infirmis scandalum nasceretur.[10] Et memorabili Augustino antistite omnimodis instante, ad controversiam ambo illi Calamenses episcopi venerunt, et de ipsa diversa communione tertio conflictum[11] secum egerunt, magna populorum Christianorum multitudine causae exitum et apud Carthaginem et per totam Africam exspectante, atque ille est Crispinus proconsulari et libellari[12] sententia pronunciatus haereticus. Pro quo ille apud cognitorem Catholicus episcopus intercessit, ne auraria mulcta[13] exigeretur, et ei est beneficium impetratum. Unde cum ingratus ad piissimum principem provocasset, ab imperatore relatione debitum est responsum solutum, et consequenter praeceptum, nullo prorsus loco haereticos Donatistas esse debere, et eos ad vim legum omnium contra haereticos latarum ubique teneri debere. Ex quo et

1 illis *om. BG edd* 3 profectus *CG*, ecclesiae amplius impediretur profectus *edd* 5 hisdem *E*, ab hisdem *C*, isdem *DG*, ab isdem *D**, isdem donatista *B*, eisdem *edd* 6 praedicator *BQ* scilicet]+et *BCDEFG edd* edoctus *BCD** 7 multum....aurarium *A*, multam *DF* 19 ille est Crispinus] *ABDEFGbcdfghjkmnop*, est *tr. post* pronunciatus *Clq*, *ante* pronunciatus *edd.*, est *om. er* 20 libellari] *ADE Fefhjno edd.*, liberali *BCGbcdgklmpq*, proconsularis et libellaris sententiam *r* 22 intellexit *A* multa *ADEFG* 24 et ab *DEF edd* relationi *DEFG edd.*, *et* imperatorem relatione *B* 25 consequenter] *ABDEFbdefghjkmnpr*, +est *C*, consecutum *G*, consecutum est *edd.*, et consequens preceptum *o*, solitum et consequentem preceptum *c*, ex consequenti precepto *lq*

ambuscade, and although he escaped with all his companions, the animals and baggage were taken from them and they left him grievously injured and wounded. Wherefore, in order that the progress of the peace of the Church might not be further hindered, the defender of the Church was not silent before the law. And Crispinus, who was bishop of the Donatists in the city and region of Calama, for some time well known and also a learned man, was admonished that he was liable to the fine of gold fixed by the civil laws against heretics. When he protested against the laws and was brought before the proconsul, he denied that he was a heretic. Then it became necessary, when the defender of the Church withdrew, that he should be opposed by a Catholic bishop and be convicted of being what he denied he was; for if he had succeeded in his dissimulation, the ignorant perhaps would have believed that the heretic was a Catholic bishop, since he denied being what he was, and so a stumbling-block might have been placed in the way of the weak because of this neglect. And since the illustrious Bishop Augustine firmly insisted on it, both the bishops of Calama met for discussion and for the third time they met in conflict concerning their different communions, while a great multitude of Christians at Carthage and throughout all Africa awaited the result of the case; and Crispinus was pronounced a heretic by proconsular and libellary sentence. But the Catholic bishop interceded with the judge in his behalf that the fine of gold should not be exacted, and the favor was obtained for him. But when he ungratefully appealed to the most clement Prince, a final answer from the Emperor was due to his appeal, and accordingly the order was issued that the Donatist heretics should have no rights in any place and that they should everywhere be held to the full force of all the laws enacted against heretics. By this

iudex et officium,[14] et idem Crispinus quod minime fuerit exactus, praecepti sunt denas auri libras fisci iuribus inferre. Sed protinus opera data est per Catholicos episcopos, praecipue per sanctae memoriae Augustinum, ut illa omnium condemnatio principis dimitteretur indulgentia. Et Domino adiuvante perfectum est. Qua diligentia et sancto studio multum crevit Ecclesia.

CAPUT XIII

Pax Ecclesiae per Augustinum

Et de his omnibus pro pace Ecclesiae gestis, Augustino Dominus et hic palmam dedit, et apud se iustitiae coronam[1] servavit: ac magis magisque, iuvante Christo, de die in diem augebatur et multiplicabatur[2] pacis unitas, Ecclesiae Dei fraternitas. Et id maxime factum est post collationem, quae ab universis episcopis Catholicis apud Carthaginem cum eisdem Donatistarum episcopis postmodum facta est, id iubente glorioosissimo et religiosissimo Imperatore Honorio,[3] propter quod perficiendum etiam a suo latere tribunum et notarium Marcellinum[4] ad Africam iudicem miserat. In qua controversia illi omnimodis confutati, atque de errore a Catholicis convicti, sententia cognitoris notati sunt, et post eorum appellationem piissimi regis responso iniusti inter haereticos condemnati sunt. Ex qua ratione solito amplius eorum episcopi cum suis clericis et plebibus communicaverunt, et pacem tenentes Catholicam, multas eorum persecutiones usque ad membrorum amputationem et internecionem pertulerunt. Et totum illud bo-

4 commendatio *A* 12 reservavit *CDEF edd* 13 unitas]+et *DE*G edd* ecclesiae dei fraternitas *om. C* 16 id iuvante *DG*, iuvante *CD** 18 etiam *om. BQ* 19 ad] in *Sal* 22 iuste *edd. Q exhibet* iniusti 23 episcopi cum] episcopum *A*

order also, the judge and the officers of his court and Crispinus himself, though he had not previously been compelled to pay, were all enjoined to pay ten pounds of gold to the credit of the treasury. Immediately every effort was made by the Catholic bishops, and especially by Augustine of holy memory, that this condemnation of all should be withdrawn through the indulgence of the Emperor. With the aid of the Lord this was accomplished. Through this vigilance and holy zeal the Church increased greatly.

CHAPTER XIII

Peace of the Church through Augustine

For all these labors for the peace of the Church the Lord gave the palm to Augustine in this life and reserved with Himself the crown of righteousness for him. And more and more by the aid of Christ, the unity of peace, that is, the fraternity of the Church of God, grew and multiplied from day to day. This was especially advanced after the conference which was held a little later at Carthage by all the Catholic bishops with these same bishops of the Donatists at the command of the most glorious and devout Emperor Honorius, who, in order to bring this about, had sent the tribune and notary Marcellinus from his own court to Africa as judge. In this conference they were completely silenced, and being convicted of error by the Catholics, were reprimanded by sentence of the judge. After their appeal these unrighteous men were condemned as heretics by the rescript of the most pious Ruler. For this reason their bishops, more than before, together with their clergy and people, enjoyed our communion, maintained the Catholic peace and endured many persecutions even to the loss of life and limb. And this good was begun and com-

num, ut dixi, per sanctum illum hominem consentientibus nostris coepiscopis et pariter satagentibus, et coeptum et perfectum est.

CAPUT XIV

Emeritus episcopus Donatista superatus

Porro autem quoniam post illam quae cum Donatistis facta est collationem, non defuerunt qui dicerent[1] permissos non fuisse eosdem episcopos apud potestatem, quae causam audivit, dicere omnia pro suis partibus, quoniam Catholicae communionis cognitor suae favebat Ecclesiae: licet hoc deficientes et victi ad excusationem iactarent, quandoquidem et ante controversiam iidem haeretici Catholicae communionis eundem esse noverant, et dum ab eodem convenirentur publicis gestis, quo ad emulationem occurrerent, et se facturos prosecuti sunt. Poterant utique suspectum eum habentes, recusare congressum. Tamen omnipotentis Dei praestitit auxilium, ut postea in Caesariensi Mauritaniae civitate constitutus[2] venerabilis memoriae Augustinus, quo eum venire cum aliis eius coepiscopis sedis apostolicae litterae compulerunt, ob terminandas videlicet alias Ecclesiae necessitates: hac ergo occasione provenit, ut Emeritum[3] eiusdem loci Donatistarum episcopum, quem suae sectae praecipuum in illa collatione habuerunt defensorem, videret et cum eodem publice in ecclesia populo astante diversae communionis ex hoc ipso disputaret et provocaret gestis ecclesiasticis: ut quod forte, sicut dicebant, prosequi potuit in collatione, et permissus non erat, in praesenti sine alicuius potestatis prohibitione aut impotentia, securus dicere minime dubitaret: et in sua civitate suis omnibus praesentibus civibus fiducialiter

1 nostris *om. BQ* quo episcopis *E*, episcopis *CDFG edd* 7 collatio *G edd.*, consolationem *F*, consolatio *B* 13 cum *edd. Q exhibet* dum convincerentur *BCD** 14 quod ad collationem *CDEFG edd.*, quae ad collationem *B* et se]+esse *CDF*, et esse *E*, et *G*, se esse *edd* 15 congressu *A* 19 compulerant *edd. Q exhibet* compulerunt 26 sed *edd. Q exhibet* et 27 potentia *BCDEFG edd*

pleted, as I said, by that holy man, while our fellow-bishops consented and were equally pleased.

CHAPTER XIV

Emeritus, a Donatist bishop, overcome

Yet after the conference which was held with the Donatists, there were not lacking those who declared that these bishops had not been permitted to speak fully and freely for their sect before the magistrate who heard the case, since the judge, who was of Catholic communion, favored his own Church. But is was only after they had failed and were defeated that they offered this excuse, since these heretics knew before the discussion was held that he was of the Catholic communion, and when they were summoned by him to the public debate for the purpose of discussion, they agreed to do it. Surely, if they had held him under suspicion, they could have refused to attend. Nevertheless the help of Almighty God revealed itself, for Augustine of venerable memory stopped a while later in the city of Caesarea in Mauretania to which letters from the Apostolic See constrained him to go with others of his fellow-bishops, evidently for the purpose of settling further difficulties of the Church. Thus it happened on this occasion that he met Emeritus, the Donatist bishop of that place, whom they regarded as the chief defender of their sect at the conference, and held a discussion with him publicly in the church, while the people of the different communions were present. He challenged them by the ecclesiastical records in order that whatever perchance, as they said, Emeritus might have been able to offer in the conference and had not been permitted to offer, he might now not hesitate to say with security and without the interference or violence of any magistrate, and should not refuse to defend his own communion with all confidence in his

propriam defendere communionem non denegasset. Ille nec hac hortatione, nec suorum parentum et civium instanti petitione id facere voluit, qui ei pollicebantur se ad eius redituros communionem, etiam cum discrimine patrimoniorum salutisque suae temporalis, si modo Catholicam superaret assertionem. At ille amplius dicere illis gestis nihil voluit, nec valuit, nisi tantum: "Iam illa gesta continent, quae apud Carthaginem inter episcopos sunt confecta, utrum vicerimus an victi fuerimus."[4] Et alio loco dum a notario ut responderet admoneretur, ait, et cum reticeret,[5] factaque eius cunctis manifestata diffidentiā, Ecclesiae Dei augmenta ac firmamenta provenerunt. Quisquis ergo diligentiam et operam beatissimae memoriae Augustini pro Ecclesiae Dei statu cognoscere plenius voluerit, etiam illa percurrat gesta:[6] et inveniet quae vel qualia protulerit, quibus illum doctum, eloquentem, et praedicatum hominem provocarit hortatusque fuerit, ut pro suae defensione partis quod vellet ediceret, illumque victum cognoscet.

CAPUT XV

Digressione concionantis conversus negotiator nomine Firmus

Scio item non solus ipse, verum etiam alii fratres et conservi, qui nobiscum tunc intra Hipponensem ecclesiam cum eodem sancto viro vivebant, nobis ad mensam constitutis eum dixisse: "Advertistis hodie in ecclesia meum sermonem, eiusque initium et finem contra meam consuetudinem processisse, quoniam non eam rem terminatam explicuerim quam propo-

1 denegaret *edd.* *Q exhibet* denegasset neque *CDEF edd.* 2 oratione *BDQ* 7 iam illa]+inquit *edd* quae *om. BCDEFG edd* 8 sunt *om. BCDEFG edd* 9 dum a notario ut responderet admoneretur, ait, et cum reticeret, factaque eius cunctis] *DEbgnp,* respondere *h,* admoneretur ut responderet *m,* admonetur *c,* nihil ait *B,* tacuit *C,* dum *Fk,* facta *AGe,* facta qua eis *r,* manifesta *Ce,* et reticeret facta eius cunctis *o,* dum a notario alio ut responderet admoneretur et cum reticeret eius cunctis manifestata est diffidentia *d,* admoneretur omnino reticuit sic eius cunctis *fj,* alio loco cum reticeret et dum a notario ut responderet admoneretur ait Fac. Qua eius cunctis *lq,* admoneretur

own city and in the presence of all his fellow-townsmen. Notwithstanding this encouragement and the urgent entreaty of his parents and townsmen, he was not willing to do so, although they promised him that they would return to his communion even at the risk of their property and temporal welfare, if only he would overthrow the Catholic argument. But he was neither willing nor able to add anything more to these records except only to say: "Those records of what was done by the bishops at Carthage contain the proof of whether we were victors or vanquished." At another time, when urged by a reporter to answer, he spoke, and then when he was silent his position became evident to all through his embarrassment, while the growing strength of the Church of God was revealed. Whoever, therefore, wishes to learn more about the diligence and labor of Augustine, of most blessed memory, for the welfare of the Church of God, let him run through these records. He will find what sort of arguments he produced to provoke and persuade that learned, eloquent and illustrious man to state whatever he wished in defence of his sect; and he will learn that Emeritus was defeated.

CHAPTER XV

A merchant, Firmus by name, converted by a digression in Augustine's sermon

I know also, and not I only but also my brethren and fellow-servants who were at that time living together with the holy man in the church at Hippo, that when we were seated at the table he said: "Did you take notice of my sermon in the church to-day, that both the beginning and end worked out contrary to my usual custom? For I did not explain to its conclusion the subject which I had propounded but left it in

et reticeret, eius cunctis manifestata *edd* 23 bibebant *A* nobis] +pariter *CG edd.*, nobiscum *DEF* 26 explicui *BCDEF*

sueram, sed pendentem reliquerim." Cui respondimus: "Ita nos in tempore miratos fuisse scimus et recognoscimus." At ille: "Credo, ait, forte aliquem errantem in populo Dominus per nostram oblivionem et errorem doceri et curari voluerit:[1] in cuius manu sumus et nos et sermones nostri. Nam cum propositae quaestionis latera pertractarem, in aliud sermonis excursu perrexi, atque ita non clausa vel explicata quaestione, disputationem terminavi magis adversus Manichaeorum errorem, unde nihil dicere decreveram disputans, quam de his quae asserere proposueram." Et post haec, nisi fallor, ecce alia die vel post biduum venit quidam Firmus[2] nomine, negotiator, et intra monasterium sedenti sancto Augustino nobis coram, ad pedes genibus provolutus sese iactavit lacrimas fundens, et rogans ut pro suis delictis sacerdos cum sanctis Dominum precaretur, confitens quod Manichaeorum sectam secutus fuisset, et in ea quamplurimis annis vixisset, et propterea pecuniam multam ipsis Manichaeis vel eis, quos dicunt electos, incassum erogasset: ac se in ecclesia Dei misericordia fuisse eius tractatibus nuper correctum atque Catholicum factum. Quod et ipse venerabilis Augustinus, et nos qui tunc aderamus, ab eodem diligenter inquirentes ex qua re potissimum illo tractatu sibi fuerit satisfactum, et referente nobisque omnibus sermonis seriem recognoscentibus, profundum consilium Dei pro salute animarum admirantes et stupentes, glorificavimus sanctum eius nomen et benediximus:[3] qui cum voluerit, et unde voluerit, et quomodo voluerit, et per scientes et per nescientes salutem operatur animarum.[4] Et ex eo ille

3 credo ait forte] *ABCDEFGQbccfghjlmnopqr,* ait aliquem *dk,* ait quod forte *edd* 5 sunt *BCDEFG edd* 6 latera] *ABCDEFGQ bcdefgjklmnopqr,* latebras *edd* 7 conclusa *BCDEFG edd* 8 adversum *G edd* 9 iis *edd* 64, 18 Inter ea....10 proposueram *om. HK* 12 sedente *B edd* 13 pedes]+eius *CE edd* 15 deprecaretur *K edd* 22 in illo *D* edd.,* in illo potissimum tractatu *C* eo referente *B,* referente illo *CH,* referente eo *edd*

suspense." To which we replied, "Yes, we know it and remember that we wondered at it at the time." Then he said, "I suppose that perhaps the Lord wished some wanderer among the people to be taught and healed by our forgetfulness and error; for in His hands are we and all our utterances. For while I was investigating the margins of the question proposed, by a digression of speech I passed over to something else and so, without finishing or explaining the question, I ended my discourse by attacking the error of the Manichaeans, about which I had intended to say nothing in my discussion, rather than by speaking about those things which I had intended to explain." And after this, unless I am mistaken, lo, on the next day or the day after, there came a certain merchant, Firmus by name, to the holy Augustine, who was seated in the monastery, and in our presence fell down on his knees and prostrated himself at his feet, shedding tears and asking that the priest and his holy companions intercede with the Lord for his sins. For he confessed that he had followed the sect of the Manichaeans, had lived in it for many years and so had paid out much money in vain to the Manichaeans, or rather to those whom they call the Elect; but recently by the mercy of God he had been in the church and was converted and made a Catholic by Augustine's sermons. And when the venerable Augustine and we who were with him at the time inquired diligently of the man by what thing in the sermon he had been especially satisfied, he told us and we all recalled the course of the sermon. Wondering and marvelling at the profound plan of God for the salvation of souls, we glorified and blessed His holy Name; for when He wishes and by whom He wishes and in whatever way He wishes, by those who know and those who do not know, He works the salvation of souls. And from that time on this man held fast to the manner of

homo proposito servorum Dei adhaerens, negotiatoris dimisit actionem, et proficiens in Ecclesiae membris, in alia regione ad presbyterii quoque Dei voluntate petitus et coactus accessit officium, tenens atque custodiens propositi sanctitatem: et forte adhuc usque in rebus humanis vivat trans mare constitutus.

CAPUT XVI

Manichaeorum exsecrandae turpitudines detectae

Apud Carthaginem quoque, dum per quendam domus regiae procuratorem nomine Ursum,[1] fidei Catholicae hominem, ad quosdam Manichaeorum, quos electos vel electas dicunt, praesentes perveniretur, atque ad ecclesiam ab eodem deducerentur et perducerentur ab episcopis, ad tabulas[2] auditi sunt. Inter quos etiam sanctae memoriae Augustinus fuit, qui prae ceteris illam exsecrabilem sectam noverat, et eorum prodens eiusmodi damnabiles blasphemias ex locis librorum, quos illi accipiunt Manichaei, usque ad confessionem earundem blasphemiarum eos perduxit: et quae illi suo maiore malo indigna et turpia facere consueverunt, feminarum illarum velut electarum proditione, illis ecclesiasticis gestis declaratum est. Atque ita pastorum diligentia dominico gregi et augmentum accessit, et adversus fures atque latrones defensio competens procurata est.

Cum quodam etiam Felice[3] de numero eorum quos electos dicunt Manichaei, publice in Hipponensi ecclesia notariis excipientibus disputavit populo astante: et post secundam vel tertiam collationem ille Manichaeus frustrata[4] vanitate et er-

5 vivit *BGHK edd.*, vitat *DF*, victitat *CD** 9 Apud....88, 14 feceram *om. HK* 15 illam *om. BQ* 18 quae]+inter se *BCDEFG edd* maiore] more *BCEFG edd.*, mere *D*

life of the servants of God, gave up his business as merchant and progressing among the members of the church, by the will of God he was called and constrained in another region to enter the office of presbyter, wherein he maintained and persevered in his sanctity of life. And perhaps he is still in active life across the sea.

CHAPTER XVI

The accursed and shameful practices of the Manichaeans laid bare

At Carthage also when a certain procurator of the royal house, Ursus by name, and a man of the Catholic faith, had come into an assembly of certain Manichaeans whom they call Elect, both men and women, and when they had been led away by him to the church and were examined by the bishops, they were given a hearing with formal record. Among these bishops was also Augustine, of holy memory, who knew the accursed sect better than the others did, and by disclosing their damnable blasphemies from places in the books which the Manichaeans accept he even brought them to a confession of the same. The base and unworthy things they practiced to their own great harm are revealed in the ecclesiastical records through the disclosures of those women—Elect indeed. And so by the watchfulness of the shepherds an increase was made in the Lord's flock and strong defence was maintained against the thieves and robbers.

With a certain Felix, also a member of those whom the Manichaeans call Elect, Augustine argued in public in the church at Hippo while the people were present and the reporters took down the record. After the second or third meeting the emptiness and error of the sect were exposed and that

rore ipsius sectae, ad nostram conversus est fidem atque Ecclesiam, sicut eadem relecta docere poterit scriptura.[5]

CAPUT XVII

Pascentius comes Arianus in collatione revincitur

Praeterea cum quodam etiam Pascentio[1] comite domus regiae Ariano,[2] qui per auctoritatem suae personae fisci vehementissimus exactor, fidem Catholicam atrociter ac iugiter oppugnabat, et quamplurimos sacerdotes Dei simpliciores fide viventes, dicacitate et potestate exagitabat et perturbabat, interpositis honoratis et nobilibus viris, apud Carthaginem ab illo provocatus, coram contulit. Sed idem haereticus tabulas atque stilum, quod magister noster et ante congressum, et in congressu instantissime fieri volebat, ne adessent omni modo recusavit. Et dum id pernegasset, dicens quod legum metu publicarum periclitari talibus scriptis nollet, atque interpositis adplicaret, et Augustinus episcopus, cum suis qui aderant consacerdotibus videretur ut absque illa scriptura privatim disputarent, collationem suscepit: praedicens, ut postmodum contigit, quod post solutum conventum esse cuiquam posset liberum forte dicere, nullo scripturae documento, se dixisse quod forte non dixerit, vel non dixisse quod dixerit. Et miscuit cum eodem sermonem, atque asseruit quid crederet, et ab illo teneret, audivit, et vera ratione atque auctoritate Scripturarum prolata docuit et ostendit nostrae fidei firmamenta: illius autem asserta nulla veritate, nulla Scripturarum sanctarum auctoritate suffulta docuit et frustravit. Et ut a se invicem

8 simpliciore *BEFG*, simpliciori *CD* edd* 9 ac potestate *edd* 12 quas *BQ*, quo *C* magis noster *LM* 13 recusabat *BF* edd.*, recusabit *F* 14 metu/ legum *D*, metuum legum *F*, metu legum *edd* 15 tabulis *CDF edd* 16 adplicare *B*, id placere *CDEFG edd* et *om. BCDEFG edd* 17 videret *EFG edd* ulla *CDEFG edd* 24 probata *edd. Q exhibet* prolata

Manichaean was converted to our faith and Church, as these writings will show if they are consulted.

CHAPTER XVII

Pascentius, an Arian Count, is refuted in public debate

Moreover there was also a certain Pascentius, a Count of the royal house and an Arian, who was a most energetic collector of the taxes. By reason of the authority of his position he attacked the Catholic faith violently and persistently and by his raillery and power tormented and annoyed many of the more simple priests of God who were living by faith. Challenged by him, Augustine met him at Carthage in the presence of honored and notable men. The heretic utterly refused to have tablets and a pen at hand, as our teacher, both before and in the meeting, urgently insisted should be done. And since he refused this, saying that he was unwilling through fear of the public laws to be exposed to danger by such records, and appealed to the bystanders, the Bishop Augustine took up the discussion, because it seemed best to his fellow-bishops who were present that they should debate in private and without written records. He prophesied, however, as afterwards happened, that since there was no record in writing, after the conclusion of the conference anyone who wished could freely say that he had said what perchance he had not said or had not said what he had said. Augustine then joined in debate with him, and after stating what he believed and hearing from him what he held, by true reasoning and by producing the authority of the Scriptures he explained and proved the foundations of our faith. And the statements of Pascentius, being supported neither by truth nor by the authority of the Holy Scriptures, were explained and refuted. And

partes digressae sunt, ille magis magisque iratus et furens, mendacia multa pro sua falsa fide iactabat, victum esse a seipso proclamans, multorum ore laudatum Augustinum. Quae cum minime laterent, coactus est ad ipsum scribere Pascentium, propter illius metum omissis nominibus conferentium, et in eis litteris quidquid inter partes dictum vel gestum fuerat fideliter intimavit, ad ea si negarentur probanda magnam testium habens copiam, clarissimos scilicet atque honorabiles, qui tunc aderant, viros. Atque ille ad duo sibi directa scripta, unum vix reddidit rescriptum, in quo magis iniuriam facere, quam suae sectae rationem valuit declarare. Quod volentibus et valentibus legere comprobatur.

Cum ipsorum quoque Arianorum episcopo quodam Maximino[3] cum Gothis ad Africam veniente, apud Hipponem quam pluribus volentibus, petentibus et praeclaris interpositis viris contulit, et quid singulae asseruerint partes, scriptum est.[4] Quae si studiosi diligenter legere curaverint, procul dubio indagabunt, vel quid callida et irrationabilis haeresis ad seducendum et decipiendum profiteatur vel quid Ecclesia Catholica de divina teneat et praedicet Trinitate. Sed quoniam ille haereticus de Hippone rediens ad Carthaginem, de sua multa in collatione loquacitate victorem se de ipsa collatione recessisse iactavit, et mentitus est (qui utique non facile a divinae legis ignaris examinari et diiudicari posset) a venerabili Augustino sequenti temporis, stilo et illius totius collationis de singulis obiectis et responsis facta est recapitulatio: et quam nihil ille

2 fide sua falsa *DF edd.*, sua fide falsa *E* 11 a volentibus et a valentibus *edd* 15 plurimis *D*F edd. Q exhibet* pluribus et petentibus *DEF*, atque petentibus *edd* et *om. CDEF* 17 iudicabunt *BD* 21 de sua....in collatione *om. CD** 22 loquacitate....collatione *om. AB* recessisse] heresi se *A* 23 quae *CDEFG edd* 24 possent *CDEF edd.*, possint *G* venerabili]+viro *BEkp edd* 25 sequenti temporis] *ABCDEFGbcdghknpr*, sequenti tempore *efj*, sequentis temporis *lmoq edd. Ad sensum implendum* puncto *aut aliud huiusmodi verbum inter* sequenti *et* temporis *desideratum*

as the parties separated from each other, he became more and more angry and enraged and threw out many lies in defense of his false faith, declaring that Augustine, though praised by the voice of many, had really been defeated by him. Since this could not be kept from public notice, Augustine was compelled to write to Pascentius himself, omitting, because of the latter's fear, the names of those who had attended the conference. In these letters he faithfully set forth everything which had been said and done by both parties; and to prove these things, if they should be denied, he had ready a great multitude of witnesses, illustrious and honorable men, who had been present on that occasion. In answer to two letters directed to him, Pascentius returned but one meager reply in which he managed to offer insults rather than to declare the opinion of his sect. This is acknowledged by those who are able and willing to read [the letter].

With a bishop of these Arians, a certain Maximinus, who came to Africa with the Goths, he held a conference at Hippo, since many illustrious men desired and requested it and were also present. And what each party asserted is recorded. If the studious will take the trouble to read the records carefully, they will surely discover what this crafty and unreasonable heresy professes in order to seduce and deceive and what the Catholic Church maintains and teaches regarding the divine Trinity. But when the heretic returned from Hippo to Carthage and because of his great loquacity in the conference asserted that he had returned victorious from the debate and lied (and as, of course, he could not be easily examined and judged by those who were ignorant of the divine Law), the venerable Augustine at a later time with his own pen made a recapitulation of the separate charges and answers of the entire conference. And although Maximinus was unable to offer

obiectis referre potuerit, nihilominus demonstratum est, additis supplementis, quae in tempore collationis angusto inferri et scribi minime potuerunt. Id enim egerat nequitia hominis, ut sua novissima prosecutione multum longissima, totum quod remanserat diei spatium occuparet.

CAPUT XVIII

Pelagianistae novi haeretici expugnati et condemnati

Adversus Pelagianistas[1] quoque novos nostrorum temporum haereticos et disputatores callidos, arte magis subtili et noxia scribentes, et ubicunque poterant publice et per domos loquentes, per annos ferme decem[2] elaboravit, librorum multa condens et edens, et in ecclesia populis ex eodem errore frequentissime disputans. Et quoniam iidem perversi sedi apostolicae per suam ambitionem eandem perfidiam persuadere conabantur, instantissime etiam conciliis Africanis sanctorum episcoporum gestum est, ut sancto papae urbis, et prius venerabili Innocentio,[3] et postea sancto Zosimo[4] eius successori persuaderetur, quam illa secta a fide Catholica et abominanda et damnanda fuisset. At illi tantae sedis antistites, suis diversis temporibus eosdem notantes, atque a membris Ecclesiae praecidentes, datis litteris ad Africanas Occidentis et ad Orientis partis ecclesias, eos anathematizandos et devitandos ab omnibus Catholicis censuerunt. Et tale de illis Ecclesiae Dei Catholicae prolatum iudicium, etiam piissimus Imperator Honorius audiens ac sequens, suis eos legibus damnatos inter haereticos haberi debere constituit. Unde nonnulli ex eis ad sanctae matris Ecclesiae gremium, unde resiluerant, redierunt et adhuc alii redeunt, in-

2 angusto]+cuncta *CDEFG edd* augusto *ABD*E*, augustino *E** 4 multo *CDEFG edd. Q exhibet* multum 11 elaborabat *B*, laboravit *C edd* 12 et (2) *om. A* 21 litteris]+et *DEFG edd.*, et africanis et occidentis....partibus ecclesiis *B*, occidentes et orientes ecclesias *G*, occidentis et orientis *E* 22 anathemandos *DF edd. Q exhibet* anathematizandos 25 damnandos et *BQ* 27 resiluerant] *ABE*G*, resilierant *CDEF* edd*

any reply to the charges, nevertheless supplements were added and the things which could not be introduced and written in the short time of the conference were made clear; for the craftiness of the man led him to occupy the entire part of the day which remained with his last and by far his longest speech.

CHAPTER XVIII

Heretics of the new Pelagian sect overcome and condemned

Against the Pelagians also, new heretics of our time and skilful debaters, who wrote with an art even more subtle and noxious, and spoke whenever they could, in public and in homes—against these he labored for almost ten years, writing and publishing many books and very frequently arguing in the church with people of that error. When they perversely tried through their flattery to persuade the Apostolic See of their false doctrine, it was most positively resolved by [successive] African councils of holy bishops first to convince the venerable Innocent, the holy Pope of the city, and his successor, the holy Zosimus, that this sect ought to be abominated and condemned by the Catholic faith. And the bishops of that great See at various times censured them and cut them off from the membership of the Church, and in letters sent to the African churches of the West and to the churches of the East decreed that they should be anathamatized and shunned by all Catholics. When the most pious Emperor Honorius heard of this judgment which had been passed upon them by the Catholic Church of God, influenced by it, he in turn decreed that they should be condemned by his laws and should be regarded as heretics. Accordingly some of them returned to the bosom of the holy mother Church from which they had withdrawn.

notescente et praevalescente adversus illum detestabilem errorem rectae fidei veritate.

Et erat ille memorabilis vir praecipuum dominici corporis membrum, circa universalis Ecclesiae utilitates sollicitus semper ac pervigil. Et illi divinitus donatum est, ut de suorum laborum fructu, etiam in hac vita gaudere provenisset, prius quidem in Hipponensi Ecclesiae regione, cui maxime praesidebat, unitate ac pace perfecta, deinde in aliis Africae partibus, sive per seipsum, sive per alios, et quos ipse dederat sacerdotes, pullulasse et multiplicatam fuisse Domini Ecclesiam pervidens, illosque Manichaeos, Donatistas, Pelagianistas et paganos ex magna parte defecisse, et Ecclesiae Dei sociatos esse congaudens. Provectibus quoque et studiis favens erat, et exsultans bonorum omnium, indisciplinationes[5] pie ac sancte tolerans fratrum, ingemiscensque de iniquitatibus malorum, sive eorum qui intra Ecclesiam, sive eorum qui extra Ecclesiam sunt constituti, dominicis, ut dixi, lucris semper gaudens, et damnis maerens.

Tanta autem ab eodem dictata et edita sunt, tantaque in ecclesia disputata, excepta atque emendata, vel adversus diversos haereticos, vel ex canonicis libris exposita ad aedificationem sanctorum Ecclesiae filiorum, ut ea omnia vix quisquam studiosorum perlegere et nosse sufficiat. Verumtamen ne veritatis verbi avidissimos in aliquo fraudare videamur, statui Deo praestante in huius opusculi fine etiam eorundem librorum, tractatuum et epistolarum *Indiculum*[6] adiungere: quo lecto qui magis Dei veritatem quam temporales amant divitias, sibi quisque quod voluerit ad legendum eligat, et id ad describendum, vel de bibliotheca Hipponensis ecclesiae petat, ubi emendatiora

2 sectae *A, om. C* **64,** 18 Inter ea....veritate *om. J* 4 utilitate *FG,* utilitatem *CDE edd* 7 in hipponensi ecclesiæ et regione *B,* in hipponensis ecclesiæ et regione *CD,* et *eras. D*,* in hipponense ecclesiæ et regione *F,* in hipponensi ecclesia et regione *edd* 13 profectibus *BD*FG edd* 14 ac sancte *om. A* 16 extra eam *A* 20 diversos *om. BF edd* 21 haereticos]+conscripta *edd* 23 Verumtamen.... **90,** 24 arbitrabatur *om. J* 25 finem *DFG* 27 sibi] sive *CDFG* 28 legendum]+et cognoscendum *CDEFG edd*

And others are still returning as the truth of the right faith shines forth and prevails against the detestable error.

The memorable man, a noble member of the Lord's body, was ever solicitous and watchful for the advantage of the universal Church. To him it was divinely granted that from the fruit of his labors he should find joy even in this life, first because unity and peace were established in the part of the Church around Hippo over which he had special jurisdiction, and then in the other parts of Africa, either by his own efforts or by others, and through priests whom he himself had furnished. Moreover, he found joy in seeing the Church of the Lord increase and multiply and in seeing the Manichaeans, Donatists, Pelagians and pagans for the most part diminishing and becoming united with the Church of God. He also delighted in the pursuit of his studies and rejoiced in all good. In kindness he bore with the shortcomings of his brethren and mourned over the iniquities of the wicked, whether of those within the Church or of those without, always rejoicing, as I said, in the Lord's gains and sorrowing over His losses.

And so many things were dictated and published by him and so many things were discussed in the church, written down and amended, whether against various heretics or expounded from the canonical books for the edification of the holy sons of the Church, that scarcely any student would be able to read and know them all. However, lest we seem in any way to deprive those who are very eager for the truth of his word, I have determined, with the aid of God, to add also an *Indiculus* of these books, homilies and epistles at the end of this little work. When those who love the truth of God more than temporal riches have read this, each may choose for himself what he wishes to read. And in order to copy them let him seek them either from the library of the church of Hippo,

exemplaria forte potuerint inveniri, vel unde valuerit inquirat, et inventa describat et habeat, et petenti ad describendum sine invidia etiam ipse tribuat.

CAPUT XIX

In causis audiendis quomodo se gesserit Augustinus

Secundum Apostoli quoque sententiam, dicentis, *Audet quisquam vestrum adversus alterum negotium habens iudicare ab iniquis, et non apud sanctos? An nescitis quia sancti de mundo iudicabunt? Et si in vobis iudicatur mundus, indigni estis iudiciorum minimorum? Nescitis quoniam angelos iudicabimus, nedum secularia? Secularia iudicia si habueritis inter vos, eos qui contemptibiles sunt in Ecclesia, hos collocate ad iudicandum. Ad reverentiam vobis loquor. Sic non est inter vos quisquam sapiens qui possit inter fratrem suum iudicare, sed frater cum fratre iudicio contendit, et hoc apud infideles.*[1] Interpellatus ergo a Christianis vel a cuiusque sectae hominibus causas audiebat[2] diligenter ac pie: cuiusdam sententiam ante oculos habens, dicens se malle inter incognitos, quam inter amicos causas audire: eo quod de incognitis, pro quo arbitra aequitate iudicaretur, amicum posset acquirere: de amicis vero unum esset, contra quem sententia proferretur, perditurus. Et eas aliquando usque ad horam refectionis, aliquando autem tota die ieiunans, semper tamen noscebat et dirimebat, intendens in eis Christianorum momenta animorum, quantum quisque vel in fide bonisque moribus proficeret, vel ab his deficeret.

1 potuerunt *E*, poterunt *edd.* *Q exhibet* potuerint voluerit *A* vo *in rasura*, valuerint *F* 7 iudicari *DEFG edd* 8 mundum *CDEFG edd* 9 Et....minimorum *om. A, add. A** nobis *A** iudicabitur *A*D* sunt *A*BG* 10 quam *BC*, quia *DF edd* 11 necdum *BDG*, quanto magis *CD** Secularia]+igitur *BCDEFG edd* 12 ad iudicandum *om. BN* 14 diiudicare *DFG edd* sed....contendit *om. D, add. D** 15 iudicio *om. BQ*, diiudicatur *CD* edd., iudicatur E*, diiudicaret *F* 16 a christianis] a *om. A* 17 cuiusquam *A*, cuiusque *D*, cuiuscunque *D** 18 dicentis *BCDEFG edd* 22 in horam *BCEGQ*, in hora *D*, usque horam *F* 25 iis *edd*

where the more perfect copies can probably be found, or search wherever else he can, and when he has found them let him copy and preserve them and also lend them willingly to anyone who wishes to make copies.

CHAPTER XIX

Augustine as judge

According also to the teaching of the Apostle, who said: "Dare any of you having a matter against another, go to law before the unjust and not before the saints? Do ye not know that the saints shall judge the world? and if the world shall be judged by you, are ye unworthy to judge the smallest matters? Know ye not that we shall judge angels? How much more things that pertain to this life? If ye have judgments of things pertaining to this life, set them to judge who are least in the church. I speak to your shame. Is it so that there is not a wise man among you? no, not one that shall be able to judge between his brethren? But brother goeth to law with brother, and that before the unbelievers." Accordingly when he was importuned by Christians or by men of any sect, he heard their cases carefully and dutifully, keeping before his eyes the remark of a certain one, who said that he preferred to hear cases between strangers rather than between friends; for of the strangers he could gain the one as a friend in whose favor the case was justly decided, whereas he would lose the one of his friends against whom judgment was passed. Though they sometimes kept him even till meal-time and sometimes he even had to fast all day, yet he always examined these cases and passed judgment on them, considering in them the value of Christian souls—in how far each had increased or decreased in faith and good works. When opportunities occur-

Atque compertis rerum opportunitatibus, divinae Legis veritatem partes docebat, eamque illis inculcabat, et eas quo adipiscerentur aeternam vitam admonebat: nihil aliud quaerens ab his quibus ad hoc vacabat, nisi tantum obedientiam et devotionem Christianam, quae et Deo debetur et hominibus, peccantes coram omnibus arguens, ut ceteri timorem haberent:[3] et faciebat hoc tamquam speculator a Domino constitutus domus Israel,[4] praedicans verbum atque instans opportune, importune, arguens, hortans, increpans, in omni longanimitate et doctrina,[5] praecipueque operam dabat instruere eos, qui essent idonei et alios docere.[6] Rogatus quoque a nonnullis in eorum temporalibus causis, epistolas ad diversos dabat. Sed hanc suam a melioribus rebus occupationem tamquam angariam[7] deputabat, suavem semper habens de his quae Dei sunt, vel allocutionem vel collocutionem fraternae ac domesticae familiaritatis.

CAPUT XX

Pro reis quomodo intercesserit

Novimus quoque eum a suis carissimis litterarum intercessum apud seculi potestates postulatum non dedisse, dicentem cuiusdam sapientis servandam esse sententiam, de quo scriptum esset, quod multa suae famae contemplatione[1] amicis non praestitisset. Et illud nihilominus suum addens, quoniam plerumque potestas quae petitur premit. Cum vero intercedendum esse rogatus videbat, tam id honeste ac temperate agebat, ut non solum onerosus ac molestus non videretur, verum etiam mirabilis extitisset, nam dum exorta necessitate

3 vitam aeternam *CDF edd* vitam]+et docebat et *CDEG*, +edocebat et *D*F edd.*, +et *B* 4 iis *edd* 7 domui *CDFG edd* 10 dans *CDE edd.*, habens *B*, operandas *F* 14 iis *edd* 24 petit *BG*, praestat *CDEF edd* 26 ac] aut *DF edd* 27 extitit *B*, exsisteret *CDEF edd*

red, he instructed both parties in the truth of the divine Law, impressing it upon them and reminding them of the way by which they might obtain eternal life. He asked no other reward from those for whom he spent his time in this way except the Christian obedience and devotion which is due to God and man, rebuking the sinner before all, that others also might fear. He did this as one whom the Lord made "a watchman unto the house of Israel," preaching the Word, instant in season, out of season, reproving, rebuking, exhorting with all longsuffering and doctrine, and he took special pains to instruct those who were able to teach others. On request he also wrote letters to some concerning their temporal cases. But this work which took him away from better things he regarded as a kind of conscription, for his pleasure was always in the things of God or in the exhortation or conversation of intimate brotherly friendship.

CHAPTER XX

How he interceded for prisoners

We know also that when his most intimate friends asked him for letters of intercession to the civil authorities he did not give them, saying that it was wise to observe the rule of a certain sage of whom it was written that out of great regard for his own reputation he would not be responsible for his friends. But he added the remark, which was however his own, that this was a good rule because often the authority which is petitioned afterward becomes oppressive. But if, when he was asked for it, he perceived that intercession was necessary, he did it with such sincerity and tact that not only did he not appear irritating and annoying, but rather seemed admirable. For when one case of necessity arose and in his usual manner

suo more apud quendam Africae vicarium,[2] Macedonium[3] nomine, pro supplici litteris interveniret, atque ille paruisset, hoc more scriptum misit:[4] "Miro modo afficior sapientia tua, et in illis quae edidisti, et in his quae interveniens pro sollicitis mittere non gravaris. Nam illa tantum habent acuminis, scientiae, sanctitatis, ut nihil supra sit, et haec tantum verecundiae, ut nisi faciam quod mandas, culpam penes me remanere non in negotio esse diiudicem, domine merito venerabilis et suscipiende pater. Non enim instas, quod plerique homines istius loci faciunt, ut quodcunque sollicitus voluerit, extorqueas: sed quod tibi a iudice tot curis obstricto petibile[5] visum fuerit, admones subserviente verecundia, quae maxima difficilium inter bonos efficacia est. Proinde statim commendatum effectum desiderii tribui. Nam sperandi viam ante feceram."

CAPUT XXI

Conciliis quo animo interesse soleret

Sanctorum concilia sacerdotum per diversas provincias celebrata cum potuit frequentavit, non in eis quae sua sunt, sed quae Jesu Christi quaerens;[1] ut vel fides sanctae Ecclesiae Catholicae inviolata maneret, vel nonnulli sacerdotes et clerici, sive per fas sive per nefas excommunicati, vel absolverentur vel abiicerentur. In ordinandis vero sacerdotibus et clericis consensum maiorum Christianorum et consuetudinem Ecclesiae sequendum arbitrabatur.

2 hoc modo rescriptum *BCDEFG edd* 4 iis *edd* 5 Nam]+et *CDEFG edd* 6 verecundiae *A* 7 ut] vel *A* 10 sollicitus] +petitor *CDEF edd* volueris *BGQ* 13 commendatis *BCDEFG edd* 14 patefeceram *BCDEFG edd* **76**, 9 Apud....feceram *om. HK* 17 sancta *A* 23 maiorem *BDE edd.*, malorum *F*, non consensum malorum *D**. *E*OP exhibent* maiorum 24 sequendam *CDEF edd.*, sequendo *K* **84**, 23 Verumtamen....arbitrabatur *om. J*

he interceded by letter with a Vicar of Africa, Macedonius by name, on behalf of a suppliant, Macedonius granted the request and sent him an answer on this wise: "I am struck with wonder at your wisdom, both in the books you have published and in this letter which you have not found it too great a burden to send me by way of intercession for those in distress. For the former writings, my venerable lord and esteemed father, possess a discernment, wisdom and holiness which leave nothing to be desired, and the latter such modesty, that unless I do as you request, I could not regard myself as remaining free from blame in the matter. You do not insist, like most men in your position, on extorting all that the suppliant asks. But what seemed to you fair to ask of a judge occupied with many cares, this you advise with a humble modesty which is most efficacious in settling difficulties among good men. Consequently I have not hesitated to grant your request as you recommended and as I had given you reason to expect."

CHAPTER XXI

His frame of mind when attending councils

Whenever he was able, Augustine attended the councils of the holy priests which were held throughout the various provinces, seeking in them not his own but the things of Jesus Christ, that the faith of the holy Catholic Church might remain inviolate or that some priests and clergy who had been justly or unjustly excommunicated might be either absolved or rejected. In the ordination of priests and clergy he thought that the agreement of the majority of Christians and the custom of the Church should be followed.

CAPUT XXII

In vestitu et victu qualis fuerit Augustinus

Vestes eius et calceamenta vel lectualia ex moderato et competenti habitu erant, nec nitida nimium, nec abiecta plurimum: quia his plerumque vel iactare se insolenter homines solent, vel abiicere: ex utroque, non quae Jesu Christi, sed quae sua sunt iidem quaerentes.[1] At iste, ut dixi, medium tenebat, neque in dexteram neque in sinistram declinans.[2] Mensa usus est frugali et parca, quae quidem inter olera et legumina, etiam carnes aliquando propter hospites, vel quosque infirmiores, semper autem vinum habebat, quia noverat et docebat, ut Apostolus dicit, quod omnis creatura Dei bona sit, et *nihil abiiciendum, quod cum gratiarum actione accipitur, sanctificatur enim per verbum Dei et orationem.*[3] Et, ut idem Augustinus sanctus in suis Confessionum libris[4] posuit, dicens: "Non ego immunditiam obsonii timeo, sed immunditiam cupiditatis. Scio Noe omne carnis genus quod cibo esset usui, manducare permissum: Heliam cibo carnis refectum, Ioannem mirabili abstinentia praeditum, animalibus hoc est locustis in escam cedentibus, non fuisse pollutum. Et scio Esau lenticulae concupiscentia deceptum, et David propter aquae desiderium a seipso reprehensum, et Regem nostrum, non de carne, sed de pane temptatum. Ideoque et populus in eremo, non quia carnes desideravit, sed quia escae desiderio adversus Deum murmuravit, meruit improbari." De vino autem sumendo Apostoli exstat sententia ad Timotheum scribentis, ac dicentis: *Noli usque adhuc aquam bibere, sed vino modico utere propter stomachum et frequentes tuas infirmitates.*[5] Cochlearibus tantum

11 bibebat *BG,* vino utebatur *CD** 13 percipitur *BCDEFGHJK edd* 14 Et ut....28 infirmitates *om. J* 17 genus carnis *DFHK edd* 19 animalibus hoc est *om. HK* 20 scio et *DFHK edd. Q exhibet* et scio 22 non de carne sed de pane temptatum] *ABEGcegmno,* tentatum *bhjr,* pane esse temptatum *edd.,* pane tantum temptatum *d,* non de carne temptatum sed de pane tantum *CDFHKalq* 23 Ideoque....improbari *om. E* 24 desiderabat *et* murmurabat *CD*F* contra *HK edd* dominum *DEG* 14 Et ut....28 infirmititates *om. J*

CHAPTER XXII

Augustine's use of food and clothing

His garments and foot-wear and even his bedclothing were modest yet sufficient—neither too fine nor yet too mean; for in such things men are wont either to display themselves proudly or else to degrade themselves, in either case seeking not the things which are of Jesus Christ, but their own. But Augustine, as I have said, held a middle course, turning neither to the right hand nor to the left. His table was frugal and sparing, though indeed with the herbs and lentils he also had meats at times for the sake of his guests or for some of the weaker brethren; but he always had wine because he knew and taught, as the Apostle says, that "every creature of God is good and nothing is to be rejected if it be received with thanksgiving, for it is sanctified through the Word of God and prayer." And as Augustine himself has set down in his books of the *Confessions,* saying: "I fear not the uncleanness of meat, but the uncleanness of lust. I know that Noah was permitted to eat every kind of flesh which was useful for food; that Elijah was refreshed by eating flesh; that John, who was gifted with marvelous abstinence, was not defiled by the creatures, that is the locusts, which became his food. I know also that Esau was ensnared by his desire for a pottage of lentils, and that David rebuked himself for his longing after water, and that our King was tempted not with meat, but with bread. And so likewise the people in the desert deserved to be condemned not because they desired meat, but because in their desire for food they murmured against God." As regards the use of wine there is the injunction of the Apostle who wrote to Timothy, saying: "Be no longer a drinker of water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities."

argenteis utens, ceterum vasa quibus mensae inferebantur cibi vel testea vel lignea vel marmorea fuerunt: non tamen necessitatis inopia, sed proposito voluntatis.[6] Sed et hospitalitatem semper exhibuit. Et in ipsa mensa magis lectionem vel disputationem, quam epulationem potationemque diligebat, et contra pestilentiam humanae consuetudinis[7] in ea scriptum ita habebat:

Quisquis amat dictis absentum rodere vitam,
Hac mensa indignam noverit esse suam.

Et ideo omnem convivam a superfluis et noxiis fabulis sese abstinere debere admonebat. Nam et quosdam suos familiarissimos coepiscopos illius scripturae oblitos, et contra eam loquentes, tam aspere aliquando reprehendit commotus, ut diceret aut delendos illos de mensa versus, aut se de media refectione ad suum cubiculum surrecturum. Quod ego et alii qui illi mensae interfuimus, experti sumus.

CAPUT XXIII

In usu redituum ecclesiasticorum qualis

Compauperum vero semper memor erat, hisque inde erogabat unde et sibi suisque omnibus secum habitantibus, hoc est, vel ex reditibus possessionum Ecclesiae, vel etiam ex oblationibus fidelium. Et dum forte, ut adsolet, de possessionibus ipsis invidia clericis fieret, alloquebatur plebem Dei,[1] malle se ex collationibus magis plebis Dei vivere, quam illarum possessionum curam vel gubernationem pati, et paratum se esse illis cedere, ut eo modo omnes Dei servi et ministri viverent,

1 cetera *D* edd* 4 vel....96, 12 fidem *desunt in D errore tabularum phototypicarum* 6 ita *om. CEHJ* 8 hac mensa] *AE**, hanc mensam *BCEFGHJK edd* indigne *C* suam] *ACE*H*, sui *BGQ*, sua *F*, sibi *EJK edd* 9 a *om. A* fabulis]+et detractionibus *edd. Q om* 13 delendos]+esse *BCEFHJK edd* se de] e *A* 18 semper *om. A* memorare *A*, memor erat *A** eisque *CEFGHJK edd* 19 secum habitantibus *om. HK* 23 plebis....gubernationem *om. F* 25 illi *A* servi dei *AH*

His spoons only were silver, but the vessels in which food was served were earthen, wooden or marble; yet this was not from the compulsion of necessity, but from the choice of his own will. He always showed hospitality. At the table he loved reading and discussion rather than eating and drinking, and against that pest of human custom he had this inscription on his table:

Who injures the name of an absent friend
May not at this table as guest attend.

Thus he warned every guest to refrain from unnecessary and harmful tales. And when some of his most intimate fellow-bishops forgot that inscription and spoke without heeding it, Augustine on one occasion became exasperated and so sternly rebuked them as to declare that either those verses would have to be removed from the table or he would leave in the midst of the meal and retire to his chamber. Both I and the others who were at the table experienced this.

CHAPTER XXIII

His use of the church revenues

He was ever mindful of his fellow-poor and for them he spent from the same funds from which he spent for himself and all who lived with him, that is, either from the revenues from the possessions of the church or from the offerings of the faithful. And when perchance, as was frequently the case, jealousy arose among the clergy regarding these possessions, Augustine addressed the people of God, saying that he preferred to live by the contributions of God's people rather than be burdened with the care and direction of these possessions and that he was ready to give them back to them so that all the servants and ministers of God might live after the man-

quo in vetere Testamento[2] leguntur altari deservientes eodem compartiri. Sed nunquam id laici suscipere voluerunt.

CAPUT XXIV

In re domestica qualis

Domus ecclesiae curam omnemque substantiam ad vices[1] valentioribus clericis delegabat et credebat. Nunquam clavem, nunquam annulum in manu habens, sed ab hisdem domus praepositis cuncta et accepta et erogata notabantur. Quae anno completo eidem recitabantur, quo sciretur quantum acceptum, quantumque dispensatum fuerit, vel quid dispensandum remanserit, et in multis titulis magis illius praepositi domus fidem sequens, quam probatum manifestumque cognoscens. Domum, agrum seu villam nunquam emere voluit. Verum si forte ecclesiae a quoquam sponte tale aliquid vel donaretur, vel titulo legati dimitteretur, non respuebat, sed suscipi iubebat. Nam et aliquas eum hereditates recusasse novimus,[2] non quia pauperibus inutiles esse possent, sed quoniam iustum et aequum esse videbat, ut a mortuorum vel filiis vel parentibus vel affinibus magis possiderentur, quibus ea deficientes dimittere noluerunt. Quidam etiam ex honoratis Hipponensium apud Carthaginem vivens ecclesiae Hipponensi possessionem donare voluit, et confectas tabulas sibi usufructu retento, ultro eidem sanctae memoriae Augustino misit: cuius ille oblationem libenter accepit, congratulans ei quod aeternae suae memor esset salutis. Verum post aliquot [hos] annos nobis forte cum eodem in comminus constitutis, ecce ille donator

1 deservientes]+de *CEFJ edd* 2 comparticipari *CH edd* 7 isdem *AGHJ*, eisdem *edd* 8 Quae....recitabantur *om. C* 9 reticebantur *A*, recitabant *F* 10 fuisset *et* remansisset *EJ edd* 94, 4 vel ....12 fidem *desunt in D errore tabularum phototypicarum* manifestatumque *edd* 20 Quidam....98, 12 exiret *om. J* 23 ultro *om. A* 25 aliquos *BG* hos *om. CDEFHK edd* 26 in *om. CDEF edd*

ner of which we read in the Old Testament that they were partakers of that altar which they served. But this the laity were never willing to undertake.

CHAPTER XXIV

Household affairs

The care of the church building and all its property he assigned and entrusted in turn to the more capable clergy. He never held the key nor wore his ring, but everything which was received and spent was noted down by these overseers of the house. At the end of the year the accounts were read to him that he might know how much had been received and how much spent, or what still remained to be spent. In many bills he preferred to rely on the fidelity of the overseer of the house rather than to ascertain it by testing and proving his accounts. A house or land or an estate he was never willing to buy. But if perchance anything of the kind was given to the church by someone of his own accord or if it was left as a legacy, he did not refuse it, but ordered that it be accepted. But some legacies I know he refused, not because they could not be used for the poor, but because it seemed just and right that they should rather be in the possession of the children or parents or relatives of the deceased, even though the decedents had not willed to leave these things to them. In fact one of the chief men of Hippo who was living at Carthage wished to give his property to the church at Hippo. Retaining only the interest for himself, he sent the tablets duly attested to Augustine of holy memory, who gladly accepted his offering and congratulated him because he was mindful of his eternal salvation. But some years after this, when as it happened we were visiting in Augustine's house, lo,

litteras per suum filium mittens, rogavit ut illae donationum tabulae suo redderentur filio, pauperibus vero erogandos direxit solidos centum: quo ille sanctus cognito ingemuit hominem vel finxisse donationem, vel eum de bono opere poenituisse, et quanta potuit Deo suggerente cordi eius cum dolore animi ex eadem refragatione[3] dixit, in illius scilicet increpatione et correptione. Et tabulas quas ille sponte miserat, nec desideratas, nec exactas confestim reddidit, pecuniamque illam respuit, atque rescriptis eundem sicut oportuit et arguit et corripuit, admonens ut de sua simulatione vel iniquitate poenitentiae humilitate Deo satisfaceret, ne cum tam gravi delicto de seculo exiret.

Frequentius quoque dicebat, magis securius et tutius ecclesiam legata a defunctis dimissa debere suscipere, quam hereditates forte sollicitas et damnosas, ipsaque legata magis offerenda esse quam exigenda. Commendata vero quaeque ipse non suscipiebat, sed volentes suscipere clericos non prohibebat. In his quoque quae ecclesia habebat et possidebat intentus amore, vel implicatus non erat, sed maioribus magis et spiritalibus suspensus et inhaerens rebus, aliquando seipsum ad illa temporalia ab aeternorum cogitatione relaxabat et deponebat. Quibus ille dispositis et ordinatis, tamquam a rebus mordacibus ac molestis, animi recursum ad interiora mentis et superiora faciebat, quo vel de inveniendis divinis cogitaret, vel de iam inventis aliquid dictaret, aut certe ex iam dictatis atque transcriptis aliquid emendaret. Et id agebat in die laborans,

6 refragatione] *ABDEFGHabcdeghjlmnoqr*, res rogatione *K*, de eadem defraudatione *D* Sal.*, de eodem defraudatione *C* increpationem et correptionem *CE*, increpationem et correctionem *BDFG edd.*, increpatio correptionis *K* 10 iniquitate]+cum *edd* 96, 20 Quidam....12 exiret *om. J* 13 securius] *hic desinit K* totius *A*DE FG**, tutius *D*E** 18 iis *edd* 19 magis et *om. H*, et *om. CDF*, magis ac *Mi* 20 vix aliquando *H edd* 24 divinis]+rebus *BCDEFGHJ edd* 25 dictis *AB*

this benefactor sent a letter by his son and asked that the records of transfer be returned to his son, directing, however, that a hundred pieces of gold should be given to the poor. And when the holy man heard it he mourned that the man had either pretended to make a gift or had repented of his good work. In his grief of mind at this perversity he said what he could, as God put it in his heart, for the man's admonition and reproof. He immediately returned the tablets which had been sent voluntarily and not by request nor on compulsion. The money he spurned, and as in duty bound, he wrote an answer and censured and reproved the man, warning him to make his peace with God in humble repentance for his false pretences and wickedness, that he might not depart from this life under the burden of so great a sin.

He also said frequently that the church might with greater security and safety accept legacies left by the dead rather than gifts from the living which might cause anxiety and loss, and furthermore that legacies themselves should be offered voluntarily rather than solicited. He accepted nothing which was offered him in trust, but did not restrain any of the clergy who wished to accept such gifts. He was not intently concerned nor entangled in the property which the church held and possessed. Yet though following with inmost desire after the greater spiritual things, he sometimes relaxed from his contemplation of things eternal and turned to temporal affairs. But when such things had been arranged and set in order, then as though freed from consuming and annoying cares, his soul rebounded to the more intimate and lofty thoughts of the mind in which he either pondered on the discovery of divine truth or dictated some of the things already discovered or else emended some of the works which had been previously dictated and then transcribed. This he accomplished by working

et in nocte lucubrans. Et erat tamquam illa gloriosissima Maria, typum gestans supernae Ecclesiae, de qua scriptum est, quod sederet ad pedes Domini, atque intenta eius verbum audiret: de qua soror conquesta, quod ab eadem circa multum ministerium occupata non adiuvaretur, audivit: *Martha Martha, meliorem partem Maria elegit, quae non auferetur ab ea.*[4]

Nam fabricarum novarum nunquam studium habuit, devitans in eis implicationem sui animi, quem semper liberum habere volebat ab omni molestia temporali. Non tamen illa volentes et aedificantes prohibebat, nisi tantum immoderatos. Interea[5] dum ecclesiae pecunia deficeret, hoc ipsum populo Christiano denunciabat, non se habere quod indigentibus erogaret. Nam et de vasis dominicis propter captivos et quam plurimos indigentes, frangi et conflari iubebat, et indigentibus dispensari. Quod non commemorassem, nisi contra carnalem sensum quorundam fieri perviderem. Et hoc ipsum etiam venerabilis memoriae Ambrosius in talibus necessitatibus indubitanter esse faciendum, et dixit et scripsit.[6] Sed et de neglecto a fidelibus[7] gazophylacio et secretario, unde altari necessaria inferrentur, aliquando in ecclesia loquens admonebat, quod etiam beatissimum Ambrosium se praesente[8] in ecclesia tractavisse, nobis aliquando retulerat.

CAPUT XXV

Disciplina domestica

Cum ipso semper clerici, una etiam domo ac mensa sumptibusque communibus alebantur et vestiebantur.[1] Et ne quis-

1 Et erat....10 immoderatos *om. J* religiosissima *CDEFGH edd* 5 Martha (2) *om. AEH* 6 elegit maria *BCH edd* 7 Et erat.... 10 immoderatos *om. J* . 13 et plurimum *CDF*, quam plurimos *om. G*, nam et vasa dominica quam plurima frangi *EJL vel M* 20 inferuntur *CDEF edd*

all day and toiling at night. He was a type of the Church on high, even as most glorious Mary, of whom it is written that she sat at the feet of the Lord and listened intently to His word; but when her sister who was cumbered about much serving, complained because she received no help, she heard the words: "Martha, Martha, Mary hath chosen that better part which shall not be taken away from her."

For new buildings he never had any desire, avoiding the entanglement of his soul in these things, since he wished always to have it free from all temporal annoyance. Nevertheless he did not restrain those who desired or constructed them, provided only they were not extravagant. Sometimes, when the money of the church failed, he announced to the Christian people that he had nothing to give to the poor. For the sake of captives and of the many who were in need he even ordered the holy vessels to be broken and melted down and to be distributed to the needy. I would not have mentioned this unless I knew that it was done contrary to the carnal judgment of some. Ambrose, of venerable memory, also said and wrote that in such extremities it should be done without any hesitancy. Sometimes too when the treasury and also the consistory, from which were supplied the things necessary for the altar, had been neglected by the faithful, Augustine would speak of it in the church and remind the people, even as he once told us the blessed Ambrose had dealt with the subject in the church when he was there.

CHAPTER XXV

Household discipline

At the same house and table together with him the clergy were regularly fed and clothed at the common expense. That

quam facili iuratione etiam ad periurium cecidisset,[2] et in ecclesia populo praedicabat, et suis instituerat,[3] ne quis iuraret, nec ad mensam quidem. Quod si prolapsus fecisset, unam de statutis perdebat potionem: numerus enim erat suis secum commorantibus et convivantibus poculorum praefixus. Indisciplinationes quoque et transgressiones suorum a regula recta et honestate et arguebat et tolerabat quantum decebat et oportebat: in talibus praecipue docens, ne cuiusquam cor declinaretur in verba maligna ad excusand[as] excusationes in peccatis.[4] Et ut dum quisque offerret munus suum ad altare, et illic recordatus fuerit quod frater suus habebat aliquid adversus illum, relinquendum esse munus ad altare, atque eundum quo fratri reconciliaretur, et tunc veniendum, et munus ad altare offerendum.[5] Si vero ipse adversus fratrem suum aliquid haberet, corripere eum debere in parte;[6] et si eum audisset, lucratus esset suum fratrem: sin minus, adhibendum esse unum aut duos. Quod si et ipsos contemneret, Ecclesiam adhibendam. Si vero et huic non obediret, esset illi ut ethnicus et publicanus.[7] Et illud addens, ut fratri peccanti et veniam petenti, non septies, sed septuagies septies delictum relaxaretur,[8] sicut quisque a Domino quotidie sibi postulat relaxari.

CAPUT XXVI

De convictu feminarum

Feminarum intra domum eius nulla unquam conversata est, nulla mansit ne quidem germana soror, quae vidua Deo serviens multo tempore usque in diem obitus sui praeposita an-

1 decidisset *BDFGH edd.*, dicideret *CD*EJ* 2 suos *edd* 3 fuisset *H edd* 7 honesta *BCDGH* et *om. C edd.*, honestate et *om. EJ*, recte et oneste *F* 8 declinaret *CD*H* 9 excusandas] *CDFH edd.*, excusandum *ABEGJ* 10 Et....21 relaxari *om. J* ut *om. CDF edd* 11 fuisset *CDEF edd* haberet *CDE edd.*, habet *F*, habeat *G* 12 ad] ante *D* edd* eundem *A* 13 frater *edd.* reconcilietur *DFGH edd.* eundum fratrem reconciliare *CD** 14 Si.... 19 publicanus *om. H* 15 in partem *A* 20 laxaretur *C*, relaxetur *DEFGH edd* 21 unusquisque *BQ* 10 Et....21 relaxari *om. J*

no one might lightly utter an oath and thus fall into condemnation, he preached to the people in the church and instructed the members of his own household that no one should utter an oath—not even at the table. And if anyone erred in this, he lost one drink, according to the rules: for the number of cups allowed each one of those who lived and ate with him was fixed beforehand. The faults of omission and commission of which, in spite of this rule, his brethren were guilty, he duly and properly censured or countenanced them as far as was fitting and necessary; in such cases particularly teaching that no one should incline his heart to evil words or to make excuses in sins. And when anyone offered his gift at the altar and there remembered that his brother had aught against him, he should leave his offering at the altar and go to be reconciled to his brother and then come and offer his gift at the altar. But if he had anything against his brother, he should rebuke him in secret, and if he heard him he had gained his brother, but if not, he should take with him one or two others. If he held them also in contempt he should be brought before the Church. If he did not obey her, he should be to him as a heathen and a publican. This also he added, that if a brother offend and ask forgiveness, not seven times, but seventy times seven times, the offence should be forgiven him, even as each one daily asks of the Lord that his own sins be forgiven.

CHAPTER XXVI

On the companionship of women

No woman ever lived or stayed in Augustine's house, not even his own sister, though she was a widow who had long served God and lived in charge of His handmaidens even to

cillarum Dei vixit. Sed ne fratris sui filiae, quae pariter Deo serviebant:[1] quas personas sanctorum episcoporum concilia in exceptis posuerunt. Dicebat vero, quia[2] etsi de sorore et neptibus secum commorantibus nulla nasci posset mala suspicio, tamen quoniam illae personae sine aliis necessariis secumque manentibus feminis esse non possent, et quod ad eas etiam aliae aforis[3] intrarent, de his posse offendiculum aut scandalum infirmis[4] nasci, et illos qui cum episcopo vel quolibet clerico forte manerent, ex illis omnibus feminarum personis posse una commorantibus aut adventantibus, aut tentationibus humanis perire, aut certe malis hominum suspicionibus pessime diffamari: ob hoc ergo dicebat, nunquam feminas debere cum servis Dei, etiam castissimis, una manere domo, ne (ut dictum est) aliquod scandalum vel offendiculum tali exemplo poneretur infirmis.[5] Et si forte ab aliquibus feminis ut videretur vel salutaretur, rogabatur, nunquam sine clericis testibus ad eum intrabant, vel solus cum solis nunquam est locutus, nec si secretorum aliquid interesset.

CAPUT XXVII

Officium erga destitutos et aegrotantes

In visitationibus vero modum tenebat ab Apostolo definitum, ut non nisi viduas et pupillos in tribulationibus constitutos visitaret.[1] Et si forte ab aegrotantibus ob hoc peteretur, ut pro eis in praesenti Dominum rogaret eisque manum imponeret, sine mora pergebat. Feminarum autem monasteria non nisi urgentibus necessitatibus visitabat. Servandum quoque in

1 nec *EGJ edd.*, neque *C* +patrui sui filiae et *edd. LMNOPQ acdeghjlmnoqr om.* patrui....et 4 nullam *A* 5 sine *om. A.* 7 alii *G*, illi *B*, aliae etiam *DF edd* foris *A*, ex foribus *E* 8 infirmioribus *CDF edd. Q exhibet* infirmis 9 maneret *A* 10 vel adventantibus *CEJ edd* aut tentationibus....suspicionibus *om. F.* aut.... certe *om. J.* certe *om. CEH* 12 ob....110, 3 vobis *om. J* debere feminas *CDEFGH edd* 13 castissimas *BQ* 14 aut *DFH edd* vel offendiculum *om. C* 15 infirmioribus *CDF edd* 16 umquam *CDE FGH edd* 22 pupillas *B*, pupillos et viduas *CDEF edd.* (aut et *G*, viduis *H*) constitutas *BDG edd* 23 visitabat *CE* 24 eisque.... imponeret *om. C* manus *edd*

the day of her death. Nor did he admit his brother's daughters who were likewise serving God, although the councils of holy bishops placed these persons among the exceptions. He used to say that although no evil suspicion could arise from the fact that his sister and nieces were living with him, yet since they could not be without servants and other women who would stay with them, and still others would come in from without to visit them, because of these a stumbling-block or an occasion to fall might be placed in the way of the weak. He also said that because of the presence of all those women who would live or come there, the men who happened to be visiting the bishop or some one of the clergy might either perish by human temptation or surely be most shamefully maligned by the evil suspicions of men. On this account, therefore, he said that women ought never to live in the same house with the servants of God, even the most chaste, that no occasion to fall, as has been said, nor a stumbling-block might be placed in the way of the weak by such an example. And if perchance any women requested to see him or to salute him, they never came in to him without some of the clergy as witnesses, nor did he ever speak with them alone, not even if the matter was one of secrecy.

CHAPTER XXVII

Service to the needy and sick

In his visitations he adhered to the rule set forth by the Apostle and visited only the widows and orphans in their afflictions. Yet whenever it happened that he was requested by the sick to come in person and pray to the Lord for them and lay his hand upon them, he went without delay. But the monasteries of women he visited only in extreme emergencies.

vita et moribus hominis Dei referebat, quod instituto sanctae memoriae Ambrosii compererat, ut uxorem cuiquam nunquam posceret, neque militare volentem ad hoc commendaret, neque in sua patria petitum ire ad convivium: de singulis rebus praesentens causas, scilicet ne dum inter se coniugati iurgarent, ei maledicerent per quem coniuncti essent. Sed plane ad hoc sibi iam consentientes petitum interesse debere sacerdotem, ut vel eorum iam pacta vel placita firmarentur vel benedicerentur. Et ne militiae commendatus ac male agens eius culpa suffragatori tribueretur. Et ne per frequentiam in propriis conviviorum institutis temperantiae amitteretur modus.

Indicaverat quoque nobis se praedicti beatae memoriae viri in ultimo vitae constituti audisse sapientissimum et piissimum responsum, et multum laudabat ac praedicabat. Nam cum ille venerabilis ultima iaceret aegritudine, et a fidelibus honoratis lecto eius astantibus et videntibus eum ad Deum de seculo migraturum, et ob hoc maerentibus tanti ac talis antistitis Ecclesiam posse privari verbi et sacramenti Dei dispensatione, et rogaretur cum lacrimis, ut sibi a Domino vitae posceret commeatum, eum illis dixisse: "Non sic vixi, ut me pudeat inter vos vivere: sed nec mori timeo, quia bonum Dominum habemus."[2] Et in his noster Augustinus senex elimata ac librata admirabatur et laudabat verba. Ideo enim eum dix-

1 in instituto *edd* 4 petitum ire] *ACDEFGacdeghmnor,* apetitum *B,* iret *H,* petitus iret *lq edd.* petitum ire *in oratione obliqua quamvis hoc loco abruptum* 5 praestans *GH,* reddens *CDEF edd* coniugati]+casu *H edd* 7 illis consentientibus *edd. Q exhibet* consentientes 8 pacta vel placita] *ABcegjm,* facta *o,* iam facta placita *CDEFGHadhlnqr,* pacta et placita *edd* 10 in propriis conviviorum institutis] *Ac,* improbis *Bcgjm,* in probis *Q,* constitutis *o,* institutus *GHa,* conbibiorum constitutus *r,* conviviis institutus *lq* in patriae conviviorum institutus *DF,* in patria convitiorum institutus *d,* in patriae conviviis constitutus *CEhn edd* 12 beati viri *BQ* 16 videntibus] orantibus *A, om. G* de seculo ad deum *CDEFG edd.* 19 et *om. CE edd.*

Furthermore he said that in the life and habits of a man of God that rule ought to be observed which he had learned from the practice of Ambrose of holy memory, namely, never to seek a wife for another man, nor to urge anyone who desired to go to war to do so, nor to accept an invitation to a feast in his own community. He gave as his reasons for each of these that if the husband and wife should [ever] happen to quarrel with each other, they might revile him who had brought them together; but clearly, if they themselves had previously agreed to marry, the priest to whom they came ought to offer his services so that that which had been agreed upon and was pleasing to them should be confirmed or blessed; in the second case in order that no one who had been recommended to military service might blame the one who encouraged him if he suffered any ill through his own fault; and finally, lest by frequent participation in the customs peculiar to feasts his vow of temperance should be broken.

He also told us that he had heard of the very wise and godly reply of an illustrious man of blessed memory at the end of his life, and he warmly praised and extolled it. For when the venerable man lay abed in his last illness and the chief members of the church were standing around his couch, watching him as he was about to depart from this world to be with God, they were overcome with grief at the thought that the Church could be deprived of so great and glorious a prelate and of his dispensation of the Word and Sacrament of God. And when they begged him with tears that he should ask of the Lord an extension of his life he said to them: "I have not so lived that I should be ashamed to live among you, yet I do not fear to die, for we have a Lord who is good." And our Augustine, in his later days, used to admire and praise these well-weighed words. For he said that we must understand

isse intelligendum esse "nec mori timeo, quia bonum Dominum habemus," ne crederetur praefidens de suis purgatissimis moribus praemisisse, "non sic vixi ut me pudeat inter vos vivere." Hoc enim dixerat ad illud quod homines de homine nosse poterant; nam ad examen aequitatis divinae, de bono se Domino magis confidere, cui etiam in oratione quotidiana dicebat: *Dimitte nobis debita nostra.*[3]

Cuiusdam quoque coepiscopi et familiarissimi amici, in extremis vitae de talibus frequentissime referebat dictum: ad quem cum visitandum iam morti propinquantem ventitasset, et ille manu gestu se de seculo exiturum significaret, atque a se illi esset responsum, adhuc eum Ecclesiae necessarium vivere posse, illum ne putaretur huius vitae teneri cupiditate respondisse: "Si nunquam, bene; si aliquando, quare non modo?" Et talem sententiam mirabatur et laudabat hominem protulisse, Deum quidem timentem, verumtamen in villa natum et nutritum, sed non multa lectionis eruditum scientia. Contra illum scilicet sensum aegrotantis episcopi, de quo sanctus in epistola sua, quam de mortalitate scripsit[4] martyr Cyprianus,[5] ita retulit, dicens: "Cum quidam de collegis et consacerdotibus nostris infirmitate defessus et de appropinquante morte sollicitus, commeatum sibi precaretur, astitit deprecanti et iam pene morienti iuvenis honore et maiestate venerabilis, statu celsus et clarus aspectu, et quem assistentem sibi vix posset humanus aspectus oculis carnalibus intueri, nisi quod talem

3 praesumpsisse *CDEF edd.*, praesumisse *H* 5 ad] sciens *CDEF edd. Q exhibet* ad se]+dixit *CDEF edd* 6 quotidiana]+dominica *CDEFGH edd* 8 familiarissimi]+sui *CDEFGH edd* 11 manus *CDEFGH edd.*, magnus *B* 14 ei respondisse *CDEF edd* 23 statura *H edd* 24 astantem *edd. Q exhibet* assistentem

that Ambrose added this second saying—"I do not fear to die, for we have a Lord who is good"—so that no one might believe that from overconfidence in the purity of his own life he had first said, "I have not so lived that I should be ashamed to live among you." Now this he had said in reference to that which men can judge about a fellow-man; but as for his judgment by the divine justice, he trusted rather in the Lord who is good to whom he also said in the daily prayer: "Forgive us our trespasses."

Moreover toward the end of his life Augustine very frequently repeated in this same connection the words of a certain fellow-bishop and very intimate friend. For when he had gone to visit him several times as he drew near to death and he had indicated by a gesture of his hand that he was soon to depart from this world, Augustine had said to him that he might still be of great benefit to the Church if he lived. But that no one should think he was captivated by a desire for this life he had answered: "If I were never to die it would be well; but if I am ever to die, why not now?" This sentiment was much admired by Augustine and he praised him who had given voice to it—a man who feared God, indeed, but who had been born and brought up in a small town and was not much educated in the art of reading. Compare on the other hand the attitude of a certain ailing bishop of whom the holy martyr Cyprian speaks on this wise in his letter which he wrote on Mortality, saying: "When a certain one of our colleagues and fellow-priests, wearied with infirmity and troubled at the near approach of death, prayed for an extension of his life, there stood by him as he prayed and was even now on the point of death, a youth, venerable in glory and majesty, tall of stature and with radiant countenance. And mortal eyes could scarcely have endured to look upon him as he stood there,

videre iam poterat de seculo recessurus. Atque ille non sine quadam animi et vocis indignatione infremuit, et dixit: Pati timetis, exire non vultis; quid faciam vobis?"

CAPUT XXVIII

Quae proxime ante mortem ab Augustino edita

Ante proximum vero diem obitus sui a se dictatos et editos recensuit libros, sive eos quos primo tempore suae conversionis adhuc laicus, sive quos presbyter, sive quos episcopus dictaverat, et quaecunque in his recognovit aliter quam sese habet ecclesiastica regula a se fuisse dictata et scripta, cum adhuc ecclesiasticum usum minus sciret minusque sapuisset, a semetipso et reprehensa et correcta sunt. Unde etiam duo conscripsit volumina, quorum est titulus, *De Recensione Librorum*.[1] Praereptos etiam sibi quosdam libros ante diligentiorem emendationem a nonnullis fratribus conquerebatur,[2] licet eos postmodum emendasset. Imperfecta etiam quaedam suorum librorum praeventus morte dereliquit. Quique prodesse omnibus volens, et valentibus multa librorum legere et non valentibus, ex utroque divino Testamento veteri et novo praecepta praemissa praefatione divina seu vetita ad vitae regulam pertinentia excerpsit, atque ex his unum codicem fecit: ut qui vellet legeret, atque in eo vel quam obediens Deo inobediensque esset, agnosceret: et hoc opus voluit *Speculum* appellari.

Verum brevi consequenti tempore divina voluntate et potestate provenit, ut manus ingens diversis telis armata et bellis

104, 12 ob....3 vobis *om. J* 6 edictos *A* 7 libros recensuit *CEGJ* conversionis suae *DFH edd* 11 sapuisse *A*, saperet *CD** 14 Praereptos....116, 22 impetravit *om. J* 19 praecepta] *post* praefatione *BCDEFGH edd* 22 inobediensve *edd* 23 appellare *BDF. Q exhibet* appellari 25 bellis] velis *A*

had not he who was soon to depart from this world already had power to behold such a being. And not without a certain indignation of soul and voice the youth rebuked him and said: 'You fear to suffer, you do not wish to die; what shall I do with you?' "

CHAPTER XXVIII

The books published by Augustine just before his death

Shortly before the time of his death he revised the books which he had dictated and edited, whether those which he had dictated in the time immediately following his conversion when he was still a layman, or while he was a presbyter or a bishop. And in those works which he had dictated or written while he was as yet not so well acquainted with ecclesiastical usage and had less understanding, whatsoever he found not agreeing with the ecclesiastical rule, this he himself censured and corrected. Thus he wrote two volumes whose title is *On the Revision of Books*. And he sometimes complained that certain books had been carried off by some of his brethren before his careful revision, although he revised them later. Some of his books, however, he left uncompleted at the time of his death. Furthermore, in his desire to be of help to all, both those who could read many books and those who could not, he made excerpts from both the sacred Testaments, the Old and the New, of the divine commandments and prohibitions relating to the conduct of life, and with the addition of a preface, made one volume of them. He who wishes may read it and learn therefrom how obedient or disobedient he is to God. This work he desired to have called *The Mirror*.

But a short time after his it came about, in accordance with the divine will and command, that a great host of savage foes,

exercitata, immanium hostium Vandalorum et Alanorum commixtam secum habens Gothorum gentem, aliarumque diversarum personas, ex Hispaniae partibus transmarinis navibus Africae influxisset et irruisset:[3] universeque per loca Mauritaniarum etiam ad alias nostras transiens provincias et regiones, omni saeviens atrocitate et crudelitate, cuncta quae potuit spoliatione, caedibus diversisque tormentis, incendiis, aliisque innumerabilibus et infandis malis depopulata est: nulli sexui, nulli parcens aetati, nec ipsis Dei sacerdotibus vel ministris, nec ipsis ecclesiarum ornamentis seu instrumentis vel aedificiis. Et hanc ferocissimam hostium grassationem et vastationem, ille Dei homo et factam fuisse et fieri, non ut ceteri hominum sentiebat et cogitabat: sed altius ac profundius ea considerans, et his animarum praecipue vel pericula vel mortes pervidens, solito amplius (quoniam, ut scriptum est, *Qui apponit scientiam, apponit dolorem,*[4] et *cor intelligens tinea ossibus*[5]) fuerunt ei lacrimae panes die ac nocte,[6] amarissimamque et lugubrem prae ceteris suae senectutis iam pene extremam ducebat ac tolerabat vitam. Videbat enim ille homo civitates excidio perditas pariterque cives cum aedificiis villarum habitatores alios hostili nece exstinctos, alios effugatos[7] atque dispersos: ecclesias sacerdotibus ac ministris destitutas, virginesque sacras et quosque continentes ubique dissipatos: et in his alios tormentis defecisse, alios gladio interemptos esse, alios in captivitate perdita animi et corporis integritate ac fide, malo more et duro hostibus deservire; hymnos Dei et laudes ex ecclesiis deperisse, aedificia ecclesiarum quampluri-

2 aliorumque *A* 4 universasque *B*, universaque *CH edd.*, universae provinciae quae *E* 6 crudelitate et atrocitate *H edd* 7 exspoliatione *CDFGH edd* 13 ac] et *CDFGH edd* 14 in his *CDEFGH edd* 15 praevidens *BCDEFGH edd* 19 homo]+dei *BH edd., eras. G* 20 cives *om. BCDEFGH edd* 26 fidei *edd* et duro] ac duro *H edd* 27 ex] de *DF edd., om. B*

Vandals and Alans, with some of the Gothic tribe interspersed, and various other peoples, armed with all kinds of weapons and well trained in warfare, came by ship from the regions of Spain across the sea and poured into Africa and overran it. And everywhere through the regions of Mauretania, even crossing over to other of our provinces and territories, raging with cruelty and barbarity, they completely devastated everything they could by their pillage, murder and varied tortures, conflagrations and other innumerable and unspeakable crimes, sparing neither sex nor age, nor even the priests or ministers of God, nor yet the ornaments or vessels of the churches nor even the buildings. Now the man of God did not believe and think as other men did regarding the causes from which this most fierce assault and devastation of the foe had arisen and come to pass. But considering these matters more deeply and profoundly and perceiving in them above all the dangers and the death of souls (since, as it is written, "He that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow," and "An understanding heart is a worm in the bones"), more than ever tears were his meat day and night, as he passed through and endured those days of his life, now almost ended, which beyond all others were the most bitter and mournful of his old age. For he saw cities overthrown in destruction, and the resident citizens, together with the buildings on their lands, partly annihilated by the enemy's slaughter and others driven into flight and dispersed. He saw churches stripped of priests and ministers, and holy virgins and all the monastics scattered in every direction. Here he saw some succumb to torture and others slain by the sword, while still others in captivity, losing their innocency and faith both in soul and body, received from their foes the harsh and evil treatment of slaves. He saw the hymns and praises of God perish from the churches; the church

mis locis ignibus concremata, sollemnia quae Deo debentur de propriis locis desisse sacrificia, et sacramenta divina vel non quaeri, vel quaerenti qui tradat non facile reperiri: in ipsis montium silvis, cavernis petrarum et speluncis confugientes, vel ad quasque munitiones, alios fuisse expugnatos et interceptos, alios ita necessariis sustentaculis[8] evolutos atque privatos, ut fame contabescerent: ipsosque ecclesiarum praepositos et clericos, qui forte Dei beneficio vel eos non incurrerunt, vel incurrentes evaserunt, rebus omnibus spoliatos atque nudatos egentissimos mendicare, nec eis omnibus ad omnia quibus fulciendi essent subveniri posse: vix tres superstites ex innumerabilibus ecclesiis, hoc est Carthaginensem, Hipponensem et Cirtensem, quae Dei beneficio excisae non sunt, et earum permanent civitates, et divino et humano fultae praesidio; licet post eius obitum urbs Hipponensis incolis destituta ab hostibus fuerit concremata.[9] Et se inter haec mala cuiusdam sapientis[10] sententia consolabatur, dicentis: "Non erit magnus magnum putans quod cadunt ligna et lapides, et moriuntur mortales."

Haec ergo omnia ille, ut erat alte sapiens, quotidie ubertim plangebat. Accrevitque maeroribus et lamentationibus eius, ut etiam adhuc in suo statu consistentem ad eandem Hipponensium-regiorum civitatem ab hisdem hostibus veniretur obsidendam: quoniam in eius erat tunc defensione constitutus comes quondam Bonifacius[11] cum Gothorum foederatorum exercitu, quam urbem ferme quatuordecim mensibus conclusam obsederunt: nam et litus illi marinum interclusione abstulerunt. Quo etiam ipsi nos de vicino cum aliis nostris coepiscopis con-

1 de *om. A* 2 lucis *A* dedisse *A*, deseruisse *C*, perisse *H*, desivisse *edd* et *om. BDF*, vel *E*, ac *edd* 3 ipsas....silvas et cavernas....speluncas *edd. Q exhibet* silvis *et cet.*, cavernisque *BC*, et cavernis *DFH* 5 interfectos *CDFH edd.*, interemptos *E* 6 evolatos *A* 7 fama contubescerent *A* 8 incurrerant *et* evaserant *CD*E edd* 9 exspoliatos *BEGH edd* 11 subvenire *BDEFGH.* essent subsidia se invenire *CD** 23 regionum *ABDF*, regionem *CH* iisdem *edd* 24 erat tunc defensione] *Ab*, defensionem *Bcegj*, tunc fuerat defensione *DFHadhlr*, tunc fuerat defensionem *Go*, tunc defensione fuerat *E edd.*, tunc in eius defensionem fuerat *C*, constitutus fuerat *m* comes

buildings in many places consumed by fire; the regular services which were due to God cease from their appointed places; the holy sacraments no longer desired, or if some one did desire them, no one could easily be found to administer them. When they gathered in flight amid the mountain forests, in the caves and caverns of the rocks or in any other kind of retreat, some were captured and put to death while others were robbed and deprived of the necessary means of sustenance so that they gradually perished of hunger. Even the bishops of the churches and the clergy who, by the help of God, did not chance to meet the foe or, if they did meet them, escaped their hands, he saw despoiled and stripped of all their goods and begging in abject poverty, nor could they all be furnished with that by which they might be relieved. Of the innumerable churches he saw only three survive, namely those of Carthage, Hippo and Cirta, which by God's favor were not demolished. These cities too still stand, protected by human and divine aid, although after Augustine's death the city of Hippo, abandoned by its inhabitants, was burned by the enemy. Amid these calamities he was consoled by the thought of a certain wise man who said: "He is not to be thought great who thinks it strange that wood and stones should fall and mortals die."

But Augustine, being exceeding wise, daily bewailed all these events. And it increased his grief and sorrow that this same enemy also came to besiege the city of the Hippo-Regians which had so far maintained its position. With its defence at this time the late Count Boniface had been entrusted with an army of allied Goths. For almost fourteen months they shut up and besieged the city; and they even cut off its sea-coast by blockade. We ourselves with other of our fellow-bishops from the neighboring regions took refuge in this city and re-

....exercitu] *ABDEFLMNOPQacegjlmno Ben. Mi.*, quidam *CD*b*, foederatus *h*, exercitum *GH*, quidem....exercitum *r*, comes quidam nomine Bonifacius cum Gothorum (quondam foederatus exercitu?) *d*, comes quidam Bonifacius cum Gothorum quondam foederatus exercitu *Sal* 27 illa *H*, illi marinum in conclusione *C*, marina interclusione *EL vel M*

fugeramus, in eademque omni eius obsidionis tempore fuimus. Unde nobiscum saepissime colloquebamur, et Dei tremenda iudicia prae oculis nostris posita considerabamus, dicentes: *Iustus es Domine, et rectum iudicium tuum.*[12] Pariterque dolentes, gementes et flentes orabamus miserationum Patrem et Dominum omnis consolationis,[13] ut in eadem nos tribulatione sublevare dignaretur.

CAPUT XXIX

Morbus extremus Augustini

Et forte provenit ut una cum eodem ad mensam constituti, et inde fabulantes, nobis diceret: "Noveritis me hoc tempore nostrae calamitatis id Deum rogare, ut aut hanc civitatem ab hostibus circumdatam liberare dignetur, aut si aliud ei videtur, suos servos ad perferendam suam voluntatem fortes faciat, aut certe ut sese de hoc seculo ad se accipiat." Quae ille dicens nosque instruens, deinceps cum eodem et nobis et nostris omnibus, et ipsis qui in eadem civitate fuerant, a summo Deo similiter petebamus. Et ecce tertio illius obsidionis mense decubuit febribus, et illa ultima exercebatur aegritudine. Nec suum sane Dominus famulum fructu suae precis fraudavit. Nam et sibiipsi et eidem civitati quod lacrimosis depoposcit precibus, in tempore impetravit. Novi quoque eundem et presbyterum et episcopum, pro quibusdam energumenis patientibus ut oraret rogatum, eumque in oratione lacrimas fundentem Deum rogasse, et daemones ab hominibus recessisse. Itemque ad aegrotantem et lecto vacantem quendam cum suo aegroto venisse, et rogavisse ut eidem manum imponeret, quo

1 eius omni *A* 6 deum *BDFGH edd* 10 constitutis *CD*E edd* famulantes *D*, fabulantibus *C*, confabulantibus *E edd* 15 ut sese *om. CD, add. D**, ut me *edd* 16 cum eodem et *om. C* nos et nostri omnes et ipsi *C edd.*, nos et nostri omnes ipsi *E* 17 fuerant civitate *CDEFGH edd* 19 febribus]+fatigatus *edd. abcdeghjlmnoqr om.* fatigatus 110, 14 Praereptos....22 impetravit *om. J*

mained in it during the whole time of the siege. Consequently we very frequently conversed together and meditated on the awful judgments of God laid bare before our eyes, saying: "Righteous art thou, O Lord, and upright are thy judgments." And in our common grief, with groanings and tears, we besought the Father of mercies and the Lord of all consolation that He vouchsafe to sustain us in this tribulation.

CHAPTER XXIX

Augustine's last illness

And it chanced at one time while we were seated with him at the table and were conversing together that he said to us: "I would have you know that in this time of our misfortune I ask this of God: either that He may be pleased to free this city which is surrounded by the foe, or if something else seems good in His sight, that He make His servants brave for enduring His will, or at least that He may take me from this world unto Himself." And when he had taught us these words, together with him we all joined in a like petition to God Most High, for ourselves and for all our fellow bishops and for the others who were in this city. And lo, in the third month of the siege he succumbed to fever and began to suffer in his last illness. In truth the Lord did not deprive His servant of the reward of his prayer. For what he asked with tears and prayers for himself and the city he obtained in due time. I know also that both while he was presbyter and bishop, when asked to pray for certain demoniacs, he entreated God in prayer with many tears and the demons departed from the men. In like manner when he was sick and confined to his bed there came a certain man with a sick relative and asked him to lay his hand upon him that he might be healed. But

sanus esse posset, respondisse, si aliquid in his posset, sibi hoc utique primitus praestitisset: et illum dixisse visitatum se fuisse sibique per somnium dictum esse: "Vade ad Augustinum episcopum, ut eidem manum imponat, et salvus erit." Quod dum comperisset, facere non distulit, et illum infirmum continuo Dominus sanum ab eodem discedere fecit.

CAPUT XXX

Consilium an hostibus adventantibus ex ecclesiis episcopis recedendum sit

Interea reticendum minime est, cum memorati impenderent hostes, a sancto viro nostro coepiscopo Thiabensis[1] ecclesiae Honorato,[2] litteris fuisse consultum, utrumnam illis adventantibus ex ecclesiis episcopis vel clericis recedendum esset, necne. Eique rescriptis insinuasse quid magis ab illis Romaniae[3] eversoribus[4] esset metuendum. Quam eius epistolam huic scripturae inseri volui, est enim sacerdotum Dei, et ministrorum moribus valde utilis et necessaria.

"Sancto fratri et coepiscopo Honorato Augustinus in Domino salutem

1. Caritati tuae misso exemplo epistolae,[5] quam fratri Quodvultdeo[6] nostro coepiscopo scripsi, putabam me hoc onere caruisse, quod mihi imposuisti, quaerendo consilium quid in his periculis, quae tempora nostra invenerunt, facere debeatis. Quamvis enim epistolam illam breviter scripserim, nihil me tamen praetermisisse arbitror, quod et respondenti dicere, et

1 eumque respondisse *CDEFHJ edd* 2 illud *A* 10 Interea.... 140, 6 defecerunt *om. J.* Interea....140, 11 quadraginta *om. H* 11 viro]+quoque *edd* 13 ex *om. AG* 14 inserere *CDFG edd* 17 necessaria]+isto modo rescriptum est ad eundem ab eodem *DF edd.* (hoc modo *C*) 18 patri *A* in domino *om. AB*

Augustine answered that if he had any power in such things he would surely have applied it to himself first of all; to which the stranger replied that he had had a vision and that in his dream these words had been addressed to him: "Go to the bishop Augustine that he may lay his hand upon him, and he shall be whole." Now when Augustine heard this he did not delay to do it and immediately God caused the sick man to depart from him healed.

CHAPTER XXX

Advice on the withdrawal of bishops from the churches at the approach of a foe

And now I must by no means pass over in silence the fact that when the above-mentioned enemy was threatening us, Augustine was consulted in letters by Honoratus, a holy man and our fellow-bishop of the church at Thiabe, as to whether or not the bishops or clergy should withdraw from the churches at their approach. In his reply he pointed out what was more to be feared from those destroyers of Romania. It is my desire to have that letter of his included in this account, for it is very useful, even necessary, for the proper conduct of the priests and ministers of God.

"To our holy brother and fellow-bishop Honoratus, Augustine sends greeting in the Lord.

1. I thought the copy which was sent to your Grace of the letter which I wrote our brother and fellow-bishop Quodvultdeus would relieve me of this task which you have laid upon me by asking my advice as to what you ought to do amid these perils which have befallen our times. For although I wrote that letter quickly, I nevertheless believe I omitted nothing that would suffice me to say in answering and him to know

quaerenti audire sufficeret: quandoquidem dixi, nec eos esse prohibendos, qui ad loca, si possunt, migrare munita desiderant; et ministerii nostri vincula, quibus nos Christi caritas alligavit,[7] ne deseramus ecclesias, quibus servire debemus, non esse rumpenda. Ista quippe verba sunt, quae in illa epistola posui: Restat ergo, inquam, ut nos quorum ministerium quantulaecunque plebi Dei ubi sumus manenti ita necessarium est, ut sine hoc eam non oporteat remanere, dicamus Domino: *Esto nobis in Deum protectorem et in locum munitum.*[8]

2. Sed hoc consilium tibi propterea non sufficit, ut scribis, ne contra Domini praeceptum vel exemplum facere nitamur, ubi fugiendum esse de civitate in civitatem monet. Recolimus enim verba dicentis, *Cum autem persequentur vos in civitate ista, fugite in aliam.*[9] Quis autem credat ita hoc Dominum fieri voluisse, ut necessario ministerio, sine quo vivere nequeunt, desererentur greges, quos suo sanguine comparavit? Numquid hoc fecit ipse, quando portantibus parentibus in Aegyptum parvulus fugit, qui nondum ecclesias congregaverat, quas ab eo desertas fuisse dicamus? Numquid quando Apostolus Paulus, ne illum comprehenderet inimicus per fenestram in sporta submissus est, et effugit manus eius,[10] deserta est quae ibi erat ecclesia necessario ministerio, et non ab aliis fratribus ibidem constitutis quod oportebat impletum est? Eis quippe volentibus hoc Apostolus fecerat, ut se ipsum servaret Ecclesiae, quem proprie persecutor ille quaerebat. Faciant ergo servi Christi, ministri verbi et sacramenti eius quod praecepit sive permisit. Fugiant omnino de civitate in civita-

2 munita migrare *CDEFG edd* deserant *A* 11 nec *A* 16 deserentur *DG*, deserantur *BCEF edd*

who awaits my reply. For I said that those who desire to withdraw to places of safety, if they are able, should not be prevented, and that the ties of our ministry, by which the love of Christ has bound us not to desert the churches which we ought to serve, should not be broken. Here, then, are the very words which I wrote in that letter: 'If, therefore,' I said, 'our ministry is so needful to those people of God, however few, who stay where we are, that they ought not to be left without it, it remains for us to pray to the Lord: "Be thou unto us a God, a protector and a place of refuge."'

2. But this advice, as you write, is not satisfactory to you, because you fear we may be striving to act against that command and example of the Lord in which He teaches that we should flee from city to city. We recall the words which He said: 'But when they persecute you in this city, flee ye to another.' But who would believe that the Lord wished this to be done when the circumstances are such that the flocks, which He purchased with His own blood, should be abandoned by that necessary ministry without which they cannot live? Did He do this when as an infant He fled into Egypt, carried by His parents, when He had not yet assembled any congregations which we could say were deserted by Him? When the Apostle Paul, that he might not be apprehended of his enemy, was let down through a window in a basket and escaped his hands, was any church there which was deserted when in need of his ministry? Was not that which was needful supplied by the other brethren dwelling there? Indeed it was at their request that the Apostle did this, that he might be spared to the Church, since he alone was sought by the persecutor. Therefore let the servants of Christ, the ministers of His Word and Sacrament, do as He has taught and permitted. Let them by all means flee from city to city when some one

tem, quando eorum quisquam specialiter a persecutoribus quaeritur, ut ab aliis qui non ita requiruntur, non deseratur Ecclesia, sed praebeant cibaria conservis suis, quos aliter vivere non posse noverunt. Cum autem omnium, id est, episcoporum et clericorum et laicorum est commune periculum, hi qui aliis indigent, non deserantur ab his quibus indigent. Aut igitur ad loca munita omnes transeant; aut qui habent remanendi necessitatem, non relinquantur ab eis, per quos illorum est ecclesiastica supplenda necessitas, ut aut pariter vivant, aut pariter sufferant, quod eos paterfamilias volet perpeti.

3. Quod si contigerit, ut sive alii maius, alii minus, sive omnes aequaliter patiantur, qui eorum sint qui pro aliis patiuntur apparet, illi scilicet qui cum se possent talibus malis eripere fugiendo, ne aliorum necessitatem desererent, manere maluerunt. Hinc maxime probatur illa caritas, quam Ioannes apostolus commendat, dicens: *Sicut Christus pro nobis animam suam posuit, sic et nos debemus animas pro fratribus ponere.*[11] Nam qui fugiunt, vel suis devincti necessitatibus fugere non possunt, si comprehensi patiuntur, pro se ipsis, non pro fratribus, utique patiuntur. Qui vero propterea patiuntur, quia fratres, qui eis ad Christianam salutem indigebant, deserere noluerunt, sine dubio suas animas pro fratribus ponunt.

4. Unde illud quod episcopum quemdam dixisse audivimus, "Si Dominus nobis imperavit fugam in eis persecutionibus, ubi potest fructus esse martyrii; quanto magis debemus fugere steriles passiones, quando est barbaricus et hostilis incursus?" verum est quidem et acceptabile, sed his quos ecclesiastici officii

5 et clericorum] et *om. CF edd* 7 ad locum uncti *A* minus alii maius *edd.*, alii maius *om. E*, alii minus *om. C BCD**, patientur *F* 16 animam suam pro nobis *edd* 11 magis *A*, 12 patiantur 18 Nam.... **126**, 18 ecclesia *om. G*

of them in particular is sought by the persecutors, provided that the Church shall not be abandoned by the others who are not so persecuted, but that these may administer the food to their fellow-servants, who they know would otherwise be unable to live. But when the danger is common to all, that is, to bishops, clergy and laymen, let those who are in need of others not be abandoned by those of whom they are in need. Accordingly, either let them all withdraw to places of safety or else let not those who have a necessity for remaining be left by those through whom their ecclesiastical needs are supplied, so that they may either live together or suffer together whatever their Father wishes them to endure.

3. But if it should happen that some suffer more and others less, or if all suffer equally, it is evident that they suffer for others who, though they were able to escape such woes by flight, preferred to remain so as not to desert others in their time of need. In this especially is that love exemplified which the Apostle John commends, saying: 'As Christ laid down His life for us, so also ought we to lay down our lives for the brethren.' For if those who flee or those who are bound by their duties and are unable to flee—if these are taken captive and suffer anything, they of course suffer for themselves, not for the brethren. But those who suffer because they are unwilling to forsake their brethren who have need of them for their Christian welfare, these undoubtedly lay down their lives for their brethren.

4. Therefore that which we heard a certain bishop say, namely: 'If the Lord has bidden us to flee in those persecutions where we can obtain the reward of martyrdom, how much more ought we to avoid these fruitless sufferings when there is a hostile invasion of the barbarians?' is indeed true and acceptable, but only for those who are not held by the

non tenent vincula. Nam qui clades hostiles ideo non fugit, cum possit effugere, ne deserat ministerium Christi, sine quo non possunt homines vel vivere vel fieri Christiani, maiorem caritatis invenit fructum, quam qui non propter fratres, sed propter se ipsum fugiens atque comprehensus non negat Christum suscipitque martyrium.

5. Quid est ergo quod in epistola tua priore posuisti? Dicis enim: "Si in ecclesiis persistendum est, quid simus nobis vel populo profuturi non video, nisi ut ante oculos nostros viri cadant, feminae constuprentur, incendantur ecclesiae, nos ipsi tormentis deficiamus, cum de nobis quaeritur quod non habemus." Potens est quidem Deus audire preces familiae suae, et haec, quae formidantur, avertere, nec ideo tamen propter ista, quae incerta sunt, debet esse nostri officii certa desertio, sine quo est plebi certa pernicies, non in rebus vitae huius, sed alterius quae incomparabiliter diligentius sollicitiusque curanda est. Nam si certa essent ista mala, quae timentur, ne in locis, in quibus sumus, forte contingant, prius inde fugerent omnes, propter quos ibi manendum est, et nos a manendi necessitate liberos redderent. Non enim quisquam est, qui dicat ministros manere oportere, ubi iam non fuerint quibus necesse sit ministrare. Ita quidam sancti episcopi de Hispania profugerunt, prius plebibus partim fuga lapsis, partim peremptis, partim obsidione consumptis, partim captivitate dispersis: sed multo plures, illic manentibus propter quos manerent, sub eorundem periculorum densitate manserunt. Et si aliqui deseruerunt plebes suas, hoc est quod dicimus fieri non debere.

3 fieri vel vivere *CDEF edd* 5 comprehensum *A* 11 in tormentis *edd* nostri officii esse *edd* 16 quae *om. edd* curanda est] curandae *edd* 22 quidam] *CE edd.*, quidem *ABDFG*

bonds of ecclesiastical duty. For when he who can escape does not flee from the onslaught of the enemy and so does not abandon the ministry of Christ, without which men could neither live a Christian life nor become Christians, he finds a greater reward of love than he who flees, not for his brethren's sake but for his own, and when taken captive does not deny Christ but suffers martyrdom.

5. But what, then, is that which you wrote in your previous letter? For you say: 'If we must remain in the churches, I do not see what will be the advantage to us or to the people, except that men should be cut down before our very eyes, women outraged, churches burned, and we ourselves perish under torture when the things we have not are demanded of us.' God, indeed, is able to hear the prayers of His children and to ward off the things which they fear; yet even so we ought not, on account of that which is uncertain, to be guilty of that which is certain, namely, neglect of our ministrations. Without these the ruin of the people is certain, not in the things of this life, but of that other which must be cared for with incomparably greater devotion and anxiety. For if these evils were certain which we fear might come to pass in the places in which we are, all on whose account we ought to remain would have fled before us, and so we should be freed from the necessity of remaining. For there is no one who says that ministers ought to remain where there are no longer any to whom it is necessary to minister. So indeed the holy bishops fled from Spain after the people had either fallen in flight, or had been slain or consumed in the siege or scattered in captivity. But many more bishops stayed amid the multitude of these dangers, because those on whose account they remained were staying there. And if some deserted their people, this is what we say ought not to be done. For such

Neque enim tales ducti auctoritate divina, sed humano vel errore decepti vel timore sunt vincti.

6. Cur enim sibi putant indifferenter obtemperandum esse praecepto, ubi legunt in civitatem de civitate esse fugiendum;[12] et mercenarium non exhorrent, qui videt lupum venientem et fugit, quoniam non est ei cura de ovibus?[13] Cur non istas duas dominicas verasque sententias, unam scilicet ubi fuga sinitur aut iubetur, alteram ubi arguitur atque culpatur, sic intelligere student, ut inter se reperiantur non esse contrariae, sicut non sunt? Et hoc quomodo reperitur, nisi attendatur quod iam superius disputavi, tunc de locis, in quibus sumus, premente persecutione fugiendum esse Christi ministris, quando ibi plebs Christi non fuerit, cui ministretur, aut potest implere per alios necessarium ministerium, quibus eadem non est causa fugiendi: sicut in sporta submissus, quod supra memoravi,[14] fugit Apostolus, cum a persecutore ipse proprie quaereretur, aliis utique necessitatem similem non habentibus, a quibus illic ministerium absit ut desereretur ecclesia; sicut fugit sanctus Athanasius[15] Alexandrinus episcopus, cum eum specialiter apprehendere Constantius[16] praeceperat Imperator, nequaquam a ceteris ministris deserta plebe Catholica, quae in Alexandria commanebat. Cum autem plebs manet, et ministri fugiunt ministeriumque subtrahitur, quid erit nisi mercenariorum illa fuga damnabilis, quibus non est cura de ovibus? Veniet enim lupus, non homo, sed diabolus; qui plerumque fideles apostatas esse persuasit, quibus quotidianum ministerium Dominici cor-

1 docti *BCDF edd., om. E* 2 victi *BCDEF edd* 4 praecepto.... esse *om. E* de civitate in civitatem *B edd.*, in civitatem legunt de civitate *CF*, in civitatem legunt esse *D* 11 hunc *A* 12 ibi]+aut *BCDF edd* 13 aut]+etiam fuerit et *edd* impleri *BCDEF edd* 16 proprie ipse *edd* 122, 18 Nam....18 ecclesia *om. G* 20 praeceperat] cuperet *BCDEFG edd.*

were not led by divine authority, but were deceived by human error or constrained by fear.

6. For why do they think they should without discrimination obey the command which they read to flee from city to city, and do not tremble at the parable of the hireling who sees the wolf coming and flees because he cares not for the sheep? Why do they not endeavor so to understand these two consistent teachings of the Lord—the one, indeed, where flight is permitted or even commanded, the other where it is denounced and censured—that they be discovered not to be contrary to each other, as, in fact, they are not? And how shall this be discovered unless attention be given to that which I have discussed above, namely, that we ministers of Christ, under the stress of persecution, should flee from the places in which we are only when there are no Christians there to whom to minister, or when the necessary duties of the ministry can be performed by others who have not the same reason for flight—as the Apostle fled, let down in a basket, as I have mentioned above, when he alone was sought out by the persecutor while the others did not have any such need for flight, so that the services of the ministry were not withdrawn there nor the churches abandoned; as the holy Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, fled when the Emperor Constantius desired to apprehend him alone, while the Catholic people who remained in Alexandria were by no means deserted by the other ministers. But when the people remain and the ministers flee and the service of the ministry is withdrawn, what will this be but that damnable flight of hirelings who care not for the sheep? For the wolf shall come, not a man, but the Devil, who has very frequently induced the faithful to apostatize who were deprived of the daily ministry of the Lord's body; and not

poris defuit; et peribit infirmus non in tua conscientia, sed ignorantia frater, propter quem Christus mortuus est.[17]

7. Quod autem ad eos attinet, qui in hac re non falluntur errore, sed formidine superantur, quare non potius contra suum timorem Domino miserante atque adiuvante fortiter dimicant, ne mala sine comparatione graviora, quae multo amplius sunt tremenda, contingant? Fit hoc ubi caritas Dei flagrat, non mundi cupiditas fumat. Caritas enim dicit: *Quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor? Quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror?*[18] Sed caritas ex Deo est. Oremus ergo ut ab illo detur, a quo iubetur.[19] Et per hanc magis timeamus, ne oves Christi spiritalis nequitiae gladio in corde, quam ne ferro in corpore trucidentur, ubi quandocunque quocunque mortis genere morituri sunt. Magis timeamus ne sensu interiori corrupto, pereat castitas fidei, quam ne feminae violenter constuprentur in carne. Quia violentia non violatur pudicitia, si mente servatur: quoniam nec in carne violatur, quando voluntas patientis sua turpiter carne non utitur, sed sine consensione tolerat quod alius operatur.[20] Magis timeamus ne lapides vivi exstinguantur deserentibus nobis, quam ne lapides et ligna terrenorum aedificiorum incendantur praesentibus nobis. Magis timeamus ne membra corporis Christi[21] destituta spiritali victu necentur, quam [ne] membra corporis nostri oppressa hostili impetu torqueantur. Non quia ista non sunt vitanda cum possunt; sed quia potius ferenda sunt, quando vitari sine impietate non possunt: nisi forte quisquam contenderit non esse ministrum impium, qui tunc subtrahit ministerium pietati necessarium, quando magis est necessarium.

1 in tua non scientia *BDEFG edd.*, in tua non conscientia *CD** 7 dei caritas *BDFG edd* 9 non ego *bis edd.*, ego *primum et* non *secundum om. A* 22 Christi] nostri *CD** 23 quam]+ne *CG edd.* membra corporis nostri *om. C* 27 impium....ministerium *om. A* 28 quando....necessarium *om. A*

through thy knowledge, but through thine ignorance shall the weak brother perish, for whom Christ died.

7. But as for those who are not deceived by error in this matter, but are overcome by terror, why should they not rather, with the mercy and aid of the Lord, bravely struggle against their fright, lest incomparably greater and more fearful evils come upon them? This will be the case where the love of God is aflame, not where the desire of this world smoulders. For love says: 'Who is weak and I am not weak? Who is offended and I burn not?' And love is from God. Let us pray, therefore, that this love be given of Him by whom it is commanded. And because of it let us fear that the sheep of Christ, who will die at some time by some kind of death, may be slain in heart by the sword of spiritual wickedness rather than in the body by one of iron. Let us rather fear that the inner sense may be corrupted and the purity of faith perish than that women be forcibly defiled in body. For chastity is not destroyed in the body when the will of the sufferer does not shamefully take part in the deeds of the flesh, but without consenting endures another's violence. Rather let us fear that the living stones may be destroyed while we are absent than that the stones and wood of the earthly buildings may be burned while we are present. Rather let us fear that the members of Christ's body may be destroyed when deprived of spiritual nourishment than that the members of our body may be put to torture when overpowered by the attack of the enemy. Not that these things are not to be avoided when possible, but rather that they are to be endured when they cannot be avoided without impiety—unless, perchance, someone will maintain that the minister is not impious who withdraws his ministry which is needful for piety at the time when it is most needful.

8. An non cogitamus, cum ad istorum periculorum perveni-
tur extrema, nec est potestas ulla fugiendi, quantus in ecclesia
fieri soleat ab utroque sexu, atque ab omni aetate concursus,
aliis baptismum flagitantibus, aliis reconciliationem, aliis etiam
poenitentiae ipsius actionem, omnibus consolationem et sacra-
mentorum confectionem et erogationem? Ubi si ministri
desint, quantum exitium sequitur eos qui de isto seculo vel non
regenerati exeunt, vel ligati? Quantus est etiam luctus fide-
lium suorum, qui eos secum in vitae aeternae requiem non
habebunt? Quantus denique gemitus omnium et quorundam
quanta blasphemia de absentia ministeriorum et ministrorum?
Vide quid faciat malorum temporalium timor, et quanta in eo
sit malorum acquisitio aeternorum. Si autem ministri adsint,
pro viribus quas eis Dominus subministrat, omnibus subveni-
tur; alii baptizantur, alii reconciliantur, nulli Dominici corporis
communione fraudantur, omnes consolantur, aedificantur, ex-
hortantur, ut Deum rogent, qui potens est omnia quae timentur
avertere; parati ad utrumque, ut si non potest ab eis calix iste
transire, fiat voluntas eius,[22] qui mali aliquid non potest velle.

9. Certe iam vides quod te scripseras non videre, quantum
boni consequantur populi Christiani, si in praesentibus malis
non eis desit praesentia ministrorum Christi, quorum vides
etiam quantum obsit absentia, dum sua quaerunt non quae
Iesu Christi;[23] nec habent illam de qua dictum est: *Non quae-
rit quae sua sunt;*[24] nec imitantur eum qui dixit: *Non quae-
rens quod mihi utile est, sed quod multis, ut salvi fiant.*[25] Qui
etiam persecutoris principis illius insidias non fugisset, nisi se

9 requie *BC edd.*, m *eras. E* 13 acquisito malorum *BCDEFG edd*
25 nec] non *A* 26 est *om. edd.*, sit *E*

8. Or when these dangers have reached their height and there is no possibility of flight, do we not realize how great a gathering there usually is in the church of both sexes and of every age, some clamoring for baptism, others for reconciliation, still others for acts of penance: all of them seeking consolation and the administration and distribution of the sacraments? If, then, the ministers are not at hand, how terrible is the destruction which overtakes those who depart from this world unregenerated or bound by sin! How great is the grief of their brethren in the faith who shall not have their companionship in the rest in the life eternal! Finally how great the lamentation of all and how great the blasphemy of some because of the absence of the ministers and their ministry! See what the fear of temporal evils does and how great an increase of eternal woes results. But if the ministers are present they are a help to all, according to the strength which the Lord gives them: some are baptized, others are reconciled, none are deprived of the communion of the body of the Lord, all are consoled, edified and exhorted to ask of God, who hath the power to avert all the things they fear—prepared for either issue, so that if that cup may not pass from them, His will may be done who can will no evil.

9. Surely you now see that which you wrote you did not see, namely, how great advantage Christian people may obtain if in these present evils they are not deprived of the presence of Christ's ministers, and you also see how much injury their absence does when they seek their own, not the things which are of Jesus Christ, and have not that love of which it was said: 'She seeketh not her own,' and do not imitate him who said: 'Seeking not mine own profit, but the profit of many, that they may be saved.' For he also would not have fled from the snares of that persecuting prince had he not wished

aliis quibus necessarius erat, servare voluisset. Propter quod ait: *Compellor autem ex duobus concupiscentiam habens, dissolvi et esse cum Christo, multo magis enim optimum; manere in carne necessarium propter vos.*[26]

10. Hic fortasse quis dicat, ideo debere fugere Dei ministros talibus imminentibus malis, ut se pro utilitate Ecclesiae temporibus tranquillioribus servent. Recte hoc fit a quibusdam, quando non desunt alii, per quos suppleatur ecclesiasticum ministerium, ne ab omnibus deseratur; quod fecisse Athanasium supra diximus.[27] Nam quantum necessarium fuerit Ecclesiae, quantumque profuerit, quod vir ille mansit in carne, Catholica fides novit, quae adversus Arianos haereticos ore illius et amore defensa est. Sed quando est commune periculum, magisque timendum est, ne quisquam id facere credatur, non consulendi voluntate, sed timore moriendi, magisque fugiendi obsit exemplo, quam vivendi prosit officio, nulla ratione faciendum est. Denique sanctus David, ne se committeret periculis praeliorum, et fortassis *extingueretur,* sicut ibi dictum est, *lucerna Israel,*[28] a suis hoc petentibus sumpsit, non ipse praesumpsit; alioquin multos imitatores fecisset ignaviae, qui eum crederent hoc fecisse non consideratione utilitatis aliorum, sed suae perturbatione formidinis.

11. Occurrit autem alia quaestio, quam contemnere non debemus. Si enim haec utilitas negligenda non est, ut aliqui ministri propterea fugiant imminente aliqua vastitate, ut serventur qui ministerent eis, quos post illam cladem residuos potuerint invenire, quid fiet ubi omnes videntur interituri, nisi aliqui fugiant? Quid si enim hactenus sit evicta illa pernicies,

3 enim magis *BCDFG,* enim *om. E edd* manere]+autem *BCDEF edd* 5 forte *edd* fugere debere *CF,* dei ministros fugere *edd* 9 ab hominibus *A* 10 supra....necessarium *om. E* ecclesiae.... profuerit *om. E* 11 fuerit *A* 16 absit *A* 17 fugiendum *A* 18 scriptum *CDF* 24 enim si *Sal* 28 sit evicta] saeviat *BCDEFG edd*

to save himself for others who had greater need of him. Wherefore he says: 'For I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart and be with Christ, which is better; nevertheless to abide in the flesh is more needful for you.'

10. At this point someone perchance may say that the ministers of God ought to flee when such dangers are threatening so that they may save themselves for the benefit of the Church in more peaceful times. This is right for some when others are not lacking to provide the ministrations of the Church, that it may not be deserted by all, as we have said above that Athanasius did. For the Catholic faith, which was defended against the Arian heretics by his voice and zeal, perceived how needful it was and how profitable it would be to have him abide in the flesh. But when the peril is common and it is more to be feared that someone may be thought to do this not from a desire of serving, but from a fear of dying, and when more harm may be done by the example of fleeing than good by the obligation of living, it should under no circumstances be done. Finally the holy David, that he might not be exposed to the dangers of battle and that the 'light of Israel,' as it is there written, should not by any chance be extinguished, withdrew when his followers demanded it, but he did not do this of his own accord or he would have had many imitators of his cowardice, who would have believed that he did it not from any consideration of the advantage of others but from the confusion of his own fear.

11. But another question arises which we ought not to slight. For if this usefulness is not to be disregarded so that some ministers should flee when any danger is imminent in order to be saved to minister to those survivors whom they might be able to find after the disaster, what should be done where all seem sure to perish unless some flee? What if the persecution

ut solos ministros Ecclesiae persequatur? Quid dicemus? An relinquenda est a ministris fugientibus Ecclesia, ne a morientibus miserabilius relinquatur? Sed si laici non quaeruntur ad mortem, possunt occultare quoquo modo episcopos et clericos suos, sicut ille adiuverit, in cuius potestate sunt omnia, qui potest et non fugientes permirabili conservare potentia. Sed ideo quaerimus quid nos facere debeamus, ne in omnibus exspectando divina miracula tentare Dominum iudicemur. Non quidem talis est ista tempestas, quando laicorum et clericorum est commune periculum, sicut in navi una commune periculum est mercatorum atque nautarum. Verum absit ut tanti pendenda sit haec navis nostra, ut debeant eam nautae, et maxime gubernator, periclitantem deserere, etiam si in scapham transiliendo vel etiam natando possint effugere. Quibus enim metuimus ne nostra desertione pereant, non temporalem mortem, quae quandoque ventura est, sed aeternam, quae potest, si non caveatur, venire, et potest, si caveatur, etiam non venire, metuimus. In communi autem periculo vitae huius cur existimemus ubicunque fuerit hostilis incursus, omnes clericos et non etiam omnes laicos esse morituros, ut simul finiant hanc vitam, cui sunt clerici necessarii? aut cur non speremus sicut aliquos laicos, sic etiam clericos remansuros, a quibus eis necessarium ministerium valeat exhiberi?

12. Quamquam [o si] inter Dei ministros inde sit disceptatio, qui eorum maneant, ne fuga omnium, et qui eorum fugiant, ne morte omnium deseratur Ecclesia! Tale quippe certamen erit inter eos, ubi utrique ferveant caritate, et utrique

6 fugientem *edd.*, morientes *E* per mirabilem conservare potentiam *BCDEFG edd* 8 deum *A*D* 16 ventura sit *A* 18 existimamus *D* edd.*, resistamus *C*, exestimus *F* 21 laicos aliquos *edd.*, aliquos *om. CD*F* 24 o si inter *G edd.*, si inter *BCDEF*, hos inter *A*. *cf.* et o si fatigentur *et* o si viderent *Conf. IX iv 10.* quamquam o si....adesset *Virg. Aen. XI 415* 26 forte *EG*

should in so far be overcome as to pursue only the ministers of the Church? What shall we say? Shall the Church be forsaken by its ministers in flight that it may not be forsaken more wretchedly by them in death? But if the laymen are not persecuted to the death, they can in some way or other hide their bishops and clergy, as He shall aid, in whose control are all things, who is able by His marvelous power to save even those who do not flee. But we are inquiring what we ought to do in order that we be not adjudged as tempting God by looking for divine miracles in all things. Certainly this storm in which the danger is common to laymen and clergy is not the same as that in which the danger is common to merchants and sailors in the same ship. God forbid that this ship of ours should be prized so lightly that the sailors, and especially the pilot, ought to abandon it when it is in danger, even if they can escape by taking to a small boat or even by swimming. For in the case of those who we fear may perish because of our desertion, it is not their temporal death we fear, which is sure to come at some time, but their eternal death which can come if we are not careful and which cannot come if we are careful. But in the common perils of this life, why should we believe that wherever there is a hostile invasion all the clergy, and not all the laymen also, are going to perish so that those for whom the clergy are necessary shall all end this life together? Or why should we not expect that as some of the laymen shall survive, so also shall some of the clergy, by whom the necessary ministry may be provided for them?

12. Yet O that the rivalry between the ministers of God were as to which of them should remain that the Church be not abandoned by the flight of all, and which of them should flee that it be not abandoned by the death of all! Such, indeed, will be the rivalry among them when both are kindled

placeant caritati. Quae disceptatio si aliter non potuerit terminari, quantum mihi videtur, qui maneant et qui fugiant, sorte legendi sunt. Qui enim dixerint se potius fugere debere, aut timidi videbuntur, quia imminens malum sustinere noluerunt; aut arrogantes, quia se magis qui servandi essent, necessarios Ecclesiae iudicarunt. Deinde fortassis hi, qui meliores sunt, eligant pro fratribus animas ponere; et hi servabuntur fugiendo, quorum est minus utilis vita, quia minor consulendi et gubernandi peritia. Qui tamen, si pie sapiunt, contradicent eis, quos vident et vivere potius oportere, et magis mori malle, quam fugere. Ideo sicut scriptum est: *Contradictiones sedat sortitio, et inter potentes definit.*[29] Melius enim Deus in huiuscemodi ambagibus, quam homines iudicant, sive dignetur ad passionis fructum vocare meliores, et parcere infirmis, sive istos facere ad mala perferenda fortiores, et huic vitae subtrahere, quorum non potest Ecclesiae tantum quantum illorum vita prodesse. Res quidem fiet minus usitata, si fiat ista sortitio; sed si facta fuerit, quis eam reprehendere audebit? Quis non eam nisi imperitus, aut invidus, congrua praedicatione laudabit? Quod si non placet facere, cuius facti non occurrit exemplum, nullus fuga faciat ut Ecclesiae ministerium, maxime in tantis periculis necessarium ac debitum, desit. Nemo accipiat personam suam, ut si aliqua gratia videtur excellere, ideo se dicat vita, et ob hoc fuga esse digniorem. Quisquis enim hoc putat nimium sibi placet: quisquis autem etiam hoc dicit, omnibus displicet.

3 eligendi *CDF*, elegendi *E* 6 ii *edd* 7 eligunt *C*, eligent *edd* 8 consolendi *AG*, consulendo *F* 13 iudicat *CDFG edd* 16 dei ecclesiae *edd* 21 nullius *CDEFG edd* fugam *BG* 23 excipiat *Ben. Mi*

by love and both obey love. And if this argument cannot be otherwise settled, so far as I can see, those who should remain and those who should flee must be chosen by lot. For those who shall say that they ought rather to flee will either seem to be afraid because they are unwilling to endure the threatening danger, or presumptuous in that they judge themselves more necessary to the Church to fulfill its services. Furthermore, peradventure those who are the better may choose to lay down their lives for the brethren and those will be saved by flight whose life is less useful by reason of their inferior ability in counsel and government. Nevertheless those who are good and wise will oppose those who they see ought rather to live and who yet choose to die rather than flee. Thus, as it is written: 'The lot causeth contentions to cease and parteth between the mighty.' For in difficulties of this sort God is a better judge than men as to whether it is well to call the more gifted to the reward of martyrdom and to spare the weak or whether to make them stronger to endure the hardships and to take them out of this world whose lives cannot be of as much advantage to the Church as the lives of the others. The procedure will indeed be rather unusual if the lot has to be adopted; but if it has been used who shall presume to call it into question? Who, except he be ignorant or envious, will not praise it with fitting commendation? But if this method is not found satisfactory on the ground that no instance of such a procedure occurs, let no one by his flight cause the ministration of the Church, especially needful and due amid such great perils, to cease. Let no one regard his own person, so that if he seem to excel in some grace, he should on this account say he is more deserving of life and therefore of flight. For whoever thinks this doubtless pleases himself; but whoever also says this, displeases all.

13. Sunt sane qui arbitrantur episcopos et clericos non fugientes in talibus periculis, sed manentes, facere ut plebes decipiantur, cum ideo non fugiunt, quia manere suos praepositos cernunt. Sed facile est hanc reprehensionem vel invidiam devitare, alloquendo easdem plebes, atque dicendo: 'Non vos decipiat, quod de loco isto non fugimus. Non enim propter nos, sed propter vos potius hic manemus, ne vobis non ministremus quidquid saluti vestrae, quae in Christo est,[30] novimus necessarium. Si ergo fugere volueritis, et nos ab istis, quibus tenemur, vinculis solvistis.' Quod tunc puto esse dicendum, quando vere videtur utile esse ad loca tutiora migrare. Quo audito si vel omnes vel aliqui dixerint: 'In illius potestate sumus, cuius iram nullus quocunque vadit, evadit, et cuius misericordiam, ubicunque sit, potest invenire, qui nusquam vult ire, sive certis necessitatibus impeditus, sive laborare nolens ad incerta suffugia, et non ad finienda, sed ad mutanda pericula,' procul dubio isti deserendi non sunt ministerio Christiano. Si autem hoc audito abire maluerint, nec illis manendum qui propter illos manebant; quia ibi iam non sunt propter quos manere adhuc debeant.

14. Quicunque igitur isto modo fugit, ut ecclesiae necessarium ministerium illo fugiente non desit, facit quod Dominus praecepit sive permisit. Qui autem sic fugit, ut gregi Christi ea, quibus spiritaliter vivit, alimenta subtrahantur, mercenarius est ille qui videt lupum venientem, et fugit, quoniam non est ei cura de ovibus.[31]

Haec tibi, quia me consuluisti, frater dilectissime, quia existimavi veritate et certa caritate rescripsi; sed meliorem si

4 responsionem *edd* declinare *E edd* 10 solvitis *DEFG*, solutis *E** 13 et *om. edd* 15 sive....impeditus *om. B* 18 manendum est *BCDEFG edd* 22 ministerio *A*, *om. C* 25 ille est *BCDEFG edd* 27 quoniam *G*, qua *BCD edd.*, quae *F* 28 sed meliorem si inveneris ne sequaris sententiam *CD** (nos sequaris *D*, non *E*, sententia *F*), sed ne meliorem si sequaris sententiam *BG* (inveneris *edd.*)

13. To be sure there are those who believe that when the bishops and clergy do not flee amid such dangers but remain, they deceive the people, since the people do not flee because they see their bishops remaining. But it is easy to avoid this accusation or reproach by speaking to the people and saying: 'Be not deceived because we do not flee from this place. For we are remaining here not for our own sakes but rather for yours that we may not fail to provide you with whatever we know to be needful for your salvation which is in Christ. If, therefore, you wish to flee you will free us from the bonds by which we are held.' This I think should be said when it seems truly expedient to withdraw to places of greater safety. And when such words have been heard and all or some shall have said: 'We are in His power whose wrath no one escapes, wheresoever he may go, and whose mercy he can find, wheresoever he may be who does not wish to go elsewhere, whether prevented by certain obligations or unwilling to seek places of uncertain refuge, thus not ending but merely transfering the dangers,'—surely they must not be forsaken by the Christian ministry. But if the people prefer to leave when they have heard this, the ministers are not bound to stay who were remaining on their account, because there are no longer any persons there for whose sake they ought still to remain.

14. Accordingly, whoever flees under such circumstances that the necessary ministry of the Church is not lacking because of his flight, does as the Lord commands or permits. But whoever so flees that he deprives the flock of Christ of that nourishment from which it has its spiritual life, is an hireling who sees the wolf coming and flees because he cares not for the sheep.

These things, since I believe them, my brother most beloved, have I written to you in truth and love unfeigned be-

invenis, sententiae non praescripsi. Melius tamen quod in his periculis faciamus, invenire non possumus, quam orationes ad Dominum Deum nostrum, ut misereatur nostri. Quod ipsum, ut scilicet ecclesias non desererent, Dei dono nonnulli prudentes et sancti viri et velle et facere meruerunt, et inter dentes obtrectantium a sui propositi intentione minime defecerunt."

CAPUT XXXI

Mors et sepultura

Sane ille sanctus in vita sua prolixa pro utilitate ac felicitate sanctae Ecclesiae divinitus condonata (nam vixit annis septuaginta sex, in clericatu autem vel episcopatu annis ferme quadraginta[1]) dicere nobis inter familiaria colloquia consueverat, post perceptum baptismum etiam laudatos Christianos et sacerdotes absque digna et competenti poenitentia exire de corpore non debere. Quod et ipse fecit ultima qua defunctus est aegritudine: nam sibi iusserat Psalmos Davidicos, qui sunt paucissimi de poenitentia[2] scribi, ipsosque quaterniones iacens in lecto contra parietem positos diebus suae infirmitatis intuebatur et legebat, et ubertim ac iugiter flebat: et ne intentio eius a quoquam impediretur, ante dies ferme decem quam exiret de corpore, a nobis postulavit praesentibus, ne quisquam ad eum ingrederetur, nisi his tantum horis, quibus medici ad inspiciendum intrabant, vel cum ei refectio inferretur. Et ita observatum et factum est, et omni illo tempore orationi vacabat. Verbum Dei usque ad ipsam suam extremam aegritudinem impraetermisse,[3] alacriter et fortiter, sana mente sanoque consilio in ecclesia praedicavit. Membris omnibus sui corporis

1 perscripsi *DF* 4 scilicet]+dei *edd* 118, 10 Interea....6 defecerunt *om. J* 10 ecclesiae]+catholicae *D edd.*, catholici *F*, sanctae ac catholicae ecclesiae *C. Q om.* catholicae nam vixit] *ABCDEFGJQ bceghjklnopqr*, nam *om. edd* septuaginta sex] *ABCDFJbegklmnopq*, sex *om. c*, LXXVI *EGhjr*, septuaginta et sex *edd* 118, 10 Interea ....11 quadraginta *om. H* 12 dicere]+autem *edd* 19 iugiter ac ubertim *edd* 21 quis *BCDEFGHJ edd* 22 iis *edd* 23 intrarent *C edd. Q exhibet* intrabant 24 ac factum *edd*

cause you have asked my advice, but I make no objection to a better opinion if you find one. Nevertheless we can find nothing better to do in these dangers than to pray to the Lord our God that He have mercy upon us. And some wise and holy men, with the help of God, have been enabled to will and to do this much, namely not to desert the churches, and in the face of detraction not to waver in maintaining their purpose."

CHAPTER XXXI

Death and burial

Now the holy man in his long life given of God for the benefit and happiness of the holy Church (for he lived seventy-six years, almost forty of which he spent as a priest or bishop), in private conversations frequently told us that even after baptism had been received exemplary Christians and priests ought not depart from this life without fitting and appropriate repentance. And this he himself did in his last illness of which he died. For he commanded that the shortest penitential Psalms of David should be copied for him, and during the days of his sickness as he lay in bed he would look at these sheets as they hung upon the wall and read them; and he wept freely and constantly. And that his attention might not be interrupted by anyone, about ten days before he departed from the body he asked of us who were present that no one should come in to him, except only at the hours in which the physicians came to examine him or when nourishment was brought to him. This, accordingly, was observed and done, and he had all that time free for prayer. Up to the very moment of his last illness he preached the Word of God in the church incessantly, vigorously and powerfully, with a clear mind and sound judgment. With all the members of his body intact,

incolumis, integro aspectu atque auditu, et, ut scriptum est,[4] nobis astantibus et videntibus et orantibus, dormivit cum patribus suis, enutritus in bona senectute: et nobis coram pro eius commendanda corporis depositione, sacrificium Deo oblatum est, et sepultus est. Testamentum nullum fecit, quia unde faceret pauper Dei non habuit. Ecclesiae bibliothecam omnesque codices diligenter posteris custodiendos semper iubebat. Si quid vero ecclesia vel in sumptibus, vel in ornamentis habuit, fidei presbyteri, qui sub eodem domus ecclesiae curam gerebat, dimisit. Nec suos consanguineos, vel in proposito vel extra constitutos, in sua vita et morte vulgi more tractavit. Quibus cum adhuc superesset, id si opus fuit quod et ceteris erogavit, non ut divitias haberent, sed ut aut non aut minus egerent. Clerum sufficientissimum, et monasteria virorum ac feminarum continentibus cum suis praepositis plena Ecclesiae dimisit, una cum bibliotheca et libris tractatus vel suos vel aliorum sanctorum habentibus, in quibus dono Dei qualis quantusque in Ecclesia fuerit noscitur, et his semper vivere a fidelibus invenitur. Iuxta quod etiam secularium [quidam] poeta iubens quo sibi tumulum mortuo in aggere publico collocarent, programmate fixit, dicens,

Vivere post obitum vates vis nosse viator?
Quod legis ecce loquor, vox tua nempe mea est.[5]

Et in suis quidem scriptis ille Deo acceptus et carus sacerdos, quantum lucente veritate videre conceditur, recte ac sane, fidei, spei et caritatis Catholicae Ecclesiae vixisse manifestatur,

2 et videntibus et orantibus *om. EJhn* cum eo pariter orantibus *H edd. LMNOPbcdegjklmopqr om.* cum eo pariter dormivit]+in pace *H,* obdormivit *CDF edd* 3 et nutritus *DFJ,* enutritus *om. N* 5 sepultus est]+vixit autem annis LXXVI in clericatu vero vel episcopatu annis ferme XL *H* 10 dimisit] *hic disinit J* 12 dum *BCDE* FGH edd.,* quibusdam *E* 15 continentium *E Sal.,* contin// *F* 16 bibliothecis libros et tracatus *BCD*EFGH edd.,* libris *D* 18 in his *BCDEFG edd* 19 quidam] *BCDEFGH edd., om. A* poetarum *B edd* 20 suis iubens *CDEFH edd.,* sui *G* 21 programmate] *ABDEG Hbcdeghjkmnop,* pragrammate *r,* programatice *F,* epigrammate *C,* pro epigrammate *p* edd* finxit *G edd* 22 vatem *BCDEFGH edd* 24 acceptus est carus *A*

with sight and hearing unimpaired, while we stood by and watched and prayed, "he slept with his fathers," as it is written, "well-nourished in a good old age." And in our presence, after a service was offered to God for the peaceful repose of his body, he was buried. He made no will, because as a poor man of God he had nothing from which to make it. He repeatedly ordered that the library of the church and all the books should be carefully preserved for future generations. Whatever the church had in the way of possessions or ornaments he left in charge of his presbyter, who had the care of the church building under his direction. Neither in life nor death did he treat his relatives according to the general custom, whether they observed his manner of life or not. But while he was still living, whenever there was need he gave to them the same as he gave others, not that they should have riches, but that they might not be in want, or at least might be less in want. He left to the Church a fully sufficient body of clergy and monasteries of men and women with their continent overseers, together with the library and books containing treatises of his own and of other holy men. By the help of God, one may find therein how great he was in the Church and therein the faithful may always find him living. Wherefore also a secular poet, who directed that a monument be erected to himself in a public place after his death, composed this as an inscription, saying:

Wouldst know that poets live again, O traveller, after death?
These words thou readest, lo, I speak! Thy voice is but my breath.

From his writing assuredly it is manifest that this priest, beloved and acceptable to God, lived uprightly and soberly in the faith, hope and love of the Catholic Church in

atque eum de divinis scribentem legentes proficiunt. Sed ego arbitror plus ex eo proficere potuisse, qui eum et loquentem in ecclesia praesentem audire et videre potuerunt, et eius praesertim inter homines conversationem non ignoraverunt. Erat enim non solum eruditus scriba in regno coelorum, de thesauro suo proferens nova et vetera,[6] et unus negotiatorum, qui inventa pretiosa margarita, quae habebat venditis, comparavit,[7] verum etiam ex his ad quos scriptum est: *Sic loquimini, et sic facite*:[8] et de quibus Salvator dicit: *Qui fecerit et docuerit sic homines, hic magnus vocabitur in regno coelorum.*[9]

Peto autem impendio vestram caritatem, qui haec scripta legitis, ut mecum omnipotenti Deo gratias agatis, Dominum qui benedicatis, qui mihi tribuit intellectum, ut haec in notitiam et praesentium et absentium praesentis temporis et futuri hominum, et vellem deferre et valuissem: et mecum ac pro me oretis, ut illius quondam viri, cum quo ferme annis quadraginta Dei dono absque amara ulla dissensione familiariter ac dulciter vixi, et in hoc seculo aemulator et imitator exsistam, et in futuro omnipotentis Dei promissis cum eodem perfruar. Amen.

1 atque] *ABHQ*, quae *G*, quod agnoscunt qui *CDF edd.*, quod agnoscunt quicunque de *E* 2 ex eo]+illum *E*. *hic desinit E* 3 praesentem audire] audire praesentaliter *N* 7 inventam pretiosam margaritam *C edd* illis *CD**, iis *edd* ad quos] aliquos *A*, quos *eras. B*, ad quem *D*, a quo *FH*, de quibus *C* 11 in compendio *A* 12 dominum qui *F*, dominumque *BCDGH edd* 13 mihi intellectum tribuit *G*, tribuit mihi *edd* 16 cum....vixi *om. C* 20 amen *om. BDEFGH*

so far as he was permitted to see it by the light of truth, and those who read his works on divine subjects profit thereby. But I believe that they were able to derive greater good from him who heard and saw him as he spoke in person in the church, and especially those who knew well his manner of life among men. For not only was he a "scribe instructed unto the kingdom of heaven, which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old," and one of those merchants who "when he had found the pearl of great price, sold all that he had and bought it," but he was also one of those of whom it is written: "So speak ye and so do," and of whom the Saviour said: "Whosoever shall so do and teach men, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven."

Now I earnestly ask your grace who read these words, you who bless the Lord, that with me you give thanks to God Almighty, who gave me understanding to desire and power to bring these things to the knowledge of men near and far, of present and of future time; and I ask that you pray with me and for me, that as by the grace of God I have lived with this man, who is now dead, on terms of intimate and delightful friendship, with no bitter disagreement, for almost forty years, I may also continue to emulate and imitate him in this world and may enjoy with him the promises of God Almighty in the world to come. Amen.

NOTES

PG = Patrologia Graeca.
PL = Patrologia Latina.
Works of Augustine are quoted by title, those of other patristic writers according to the volume and column of the Patrologia.

PREFACE

[1] *exortu et procursu et debito fine:* Possidius here has in mind Augustine's own words in which he sets forth the origin, development and end of the *Civitas Dei* and the *Civitas terrena: exortu et excursu et debitis finibus: De Civitate Dei* XI i.

[2] *Patris luminum:* From Jac. 1:17.

[3] *ne de . . . putaret:* From 2 Cor. 12:6.

[4] *honorificum est:* Tobiae 12:7.

CHAPTER I

[1] *Tagastensi:* Tagaste or Thagaste was a small town in the eastern part of the province of Numidia about fifty miles southeast of Hippo-Regius and about a hundred and fifty miles south-west of Carthage. Augustine names Tagaste as his birthplace: *neque in hoc inviderunt ecclesiae Thagastensi, quae carnalis partia mea est: Ep.* CXXVI 7. Alypius, Augustine's bosom friend, was ordained bishop of Tagaste in 394.

[2] *omnibus . . . vocant:* Almost the same as Augustine's words: *omnes libros artium quas liberales vocant: Confessiones* IV xvi 30.

[3] *Ambrosius:* Bishop of Milan 374-397. Before becoming bishop he had been consular magistrate of Liguria and Aemilia. The manner in which he was chosen bishop of Milan bears a close analogy to the election of Augustine as presbyter in the church at Hippo, seventeen years later: Paulinus, *Vita Ambrosii,* PL 14, 31. In the interesting little account which Augustine gives of Ambrose's passion for reading in the spare moments of leisure from his episcopal duties (*Confessiones* VI iii 3) we may possibly see a reflection of Augustine's own busy life, crowded with so many secular cares that he could scarcely find time to study the Scriptures.

[4] *Huius interea verbi . . . intendebat suspensus:* Like Augustine's *verbis eius suspendebar intentus: Confessiones* V xiii 23.

[5] *Manichaeorum:* From his nineteenth to his twenty-eighth year Augustine followed the current Manichaean philosophy, a Persian dual-

ism somewhat grossly imposed on Christian ideas, teaching that good and evil are co-ordinate and eternal: *Confessiones* V vi 10. Beginning in 389, soon after his conversion, he published thirteen anti-Manichaean treatises during the next sixteen years. The Manichaean sect continued to flourish till the sixth century.

CHAPTER II

[1] *ex intimis cordis medullis:* Compare *quam intime etiam tum medullae animi mei suspirabant tibi: Confessiones* III vi 10.

[2] *iam non uxorem . . . quaerens:* Compare *ut nec uxorem quaererem nec aliquam spem saeculi huius: Confessiones* VIII xii 30.

[3] *coelis:* Luc. 12:32-33.

[4] *sequere me:* Matth. 19:21.

[5] *Et super . . . pretiosos:* From 1 Cor. 3:12.

[6] *annis maior triginta:* Augustine was in his thirty-third year at the time of his baptism in 387.

[7] *sola superstite matre:* Possidius is speaking of Augustine's parents only, without reference to other relatives, for his son Adeodatus lived several years longer and the death of his widowed sister, whose name is not mentioned by Possidius or Augustine, did not occur till 423. Of the death of his brother Navigius we find no record. Strangely enough Possidius makes no mention whatever of the death of Augustine's mother Monica which occurred a few months after his baptism. See also Chapter XXVI, note 1, on *quae pariter Deo serviebant.*

[8] *sibique . . . exsultante:* Compare *matre adhaerente nobis: Confessiones* IX iv 8, and *convertisti luctum eius in gaudium multo uberius quam voluerat, et multo carius atque castius quam de nepotibus carnis meae requirebat: Confessiones* VIII xii 30.

[9] *pater antea defunctus erat:* In 371, when Augustine was a young student at Carthage, his father Patricius died, having been received into the Church and baptized just before his death.

[10] *Renunciavit . . . decrevisset:* Compare *Renunciavi peractis vindemialibus, ut scholasticis suis Mediolanienses venditorem verborum alium provideren t, quod et tibi ego servire delegissem: Confessiones* IX v 13.

CHAPTER III

[1] *ferme triennio:* The three years following his return to Africa in 388. The sense of *ferme,* a word expressing a near approach to a limit, ranges from nearness to exact coincidence. Thus in Possidius *ferme decem* XI, XXXI, "about ten"; *ferme triennio* III, "almost three years," *ferme decem* XVIII, "almost ten," *ferme quadraginta* XXXI, "almost forty"; and in Augustine *ferme viginti, De Civitate Dei* VII ii, "just twenty."

[2] *in lege . . . nocte:* From Psalm 1:2.

[3] *ex his quos dicunt agentes in rebus:* Augustine has the same phrase: *Erant autem ex eis quos dicunt agentes in rebus: Confessiones* VIII vi 15. These officers had various duties principally as messengers, tax collectors and police agents. For a detailed statement of their duties see Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie* I, 776 ff. Evodius, Augustine's pupil who was bishop of Uzelis, had been one of the *agentes in rebus: Confessiones* IX viii 17.

[4] *Hipponem-regium:* Called Hippo Regius because it had been the favorite residence of the Numidian kings, thus distinguishing it from Hippo Diarrhytus, near Utica. This flourishing seaport, about one hundred and fifty miles west of Carthage, was also the capital of its district. It is referred to by classical writers. As early as 255 a certain Theogenes, Bishop of Hippo Regius, is mentioned as attending a Council of Carthage, but the historical importance of the city began when Augustine became its last bishop and ended with its fourteen months' siege and subsequent capture by the Vandals. The siege ended in 431, the year following Augustine's death. After further conflict the possession of the city was finally conceded to the Vandals by treaty in 435. See Hodgkin II 247-252. The Christian basilica was one of the most prominent buildings of the city (*De Civitate Dei* XXII viii 9) and bore the name of *Ecclesia Pacis: Ep.* CCXIII 1. The writings of Augustine mention seven separate churches or chapels in Hippo: Leclercq, *L'Afrique Chrétienne* II 26, 30-31. The city was finally destroyed in the seventh century by the Arabs. The modern town of Bona is built near its ruins.

[5] *sed vacare . . . esse:* For a parallel of this use of the verb with the neuter of the adjective compare *non vacat, non est inane: Confessiones* VI xi 19.

[6] *vas . . . paratum:* From 2 Tim. 2:21.

CHAPTER IV

[1] *Valerius:* Valerius, who died in 396, was Augustine's immediate predecessor as bishop of Hippo. Compare Chapter VIII, note 3 on *contra morem Ecclesiae.* His wise and generous nature is revealed not so much in his foresight in choosing such a rarely promising young convert as Augustine to be his successor, as in his unselfish care for the welfare of his people and the advancement of the Church. He was so far from allowing any sense of personal rivalry to hinder the career of his brilliant young asssistant that he even created a new custom in the African churches and gave Augustine, the presbyter, the right to preach in his presence: Possidius, *Vita Augustini* V.

[2] *securus et ignarus:* This is fully corroborated by Augustine's own

statement in a sermon delivered in Hippo: *Ego quem Deo propitio videtis episcopum vestrum, invenis veni ad istam civitatem, ut multi vestrum noverunt. Quaerebam ubi constituerem monasterium et viverem cum fratribus meis. Spem quippe omnem seculi reliqueram, et quod esse potui, esse nolui, nec tamen quaesivi esse quod sum. Elegi in domo Dei mei abiectus esse, magis quam habitare in tabernaculis peccatorum. Ab eis qui diligunt seculum, segregavi me; sed eis qui praesunt populis, non me coaequavi; nec in convivio Domini mei superiorem locum elegi, sed inferiorem et abiectum; et placuit illi dicere mihi: Ascende sursum. Usque adeo autem timebam episcopatum, ut quoniam coeperat esse iam alicuius momenti inter Dei servos fama mea, in quo loco sciebam non esse episcopum, non illo accederem. Cavebam hoc et agebam quantum poteram, ut in loco humili salvarer, ne in alto periclitarer. Sed ut dixi, domino servus contradicere non debet. Veni ad istam civitatem propter videndum amicum, quem putabam me lucrari posse Deo, ut nobiscum esset in monasterio; quasi securus, quia locus habebat episcopum. Apprehensus presbyter factus sum, et per hunc gradum perveni ad episcopatum. Non attuli aliquid; non veni ad hanc ecclesiam, nisi cum iis indumentis quibus illo tempore vestiebar: Sermo* CCCLV i 2.

[3] *atque ideo fieret:* This statement of Possidius is borne out fully by Augustine's *Ep.* XXI written in 391 to Valerius, Bishop of Hippo.

[4] *completum est desiderium:* This method of obtaining and ordaining a presbyter or even a bishop by force was not unusual. That Augustine feared it is shown by the fact that when he was a layman he carefully avoided any city where the bishopric was then vacant. Possidius mentions another instance of it. Firmus, who had been converted by Augustine, was later ordained presbyter in this manner: *petitus et coactus accessit officium: Vita* XV. Augustine's *Ep.* CXXVI is a detailed account of the blind obstinacy and menacing insistence of the people when they wished to compel a certain Pinianus, a wealthy alien, to become their presbyter. Compare also the letter of Paulinus to Alypius included in Augustine's epistles: *Nam ego etsi a Delphino Burdegalae baptizatus, a Lampio apud Barcilonem in Hispania, per vim inflammatae subito plebis, sacratus sim: Ep.* XXIV 4. A striking instance of the ordination of a bishop against his will occurs in the case of Ambrose. He had not even been baptized when the people demanded him as their bishop, and in spite of his ingenious efforts to escape, they had their way: Paulinus *Vita Ambrosii,* PL 14, 31.

CHAPTER V

[1] *Factusque presbyter:* Augustine was ordained presbyter in 391.

[2] *monasterium:* Augustine states that the garden in which this

monastery was situated was given to him by the aged Valerius, Bishop of Hippo: *Et quia hoc disponebam in monasterio esse cum fratribus, cognito instituto et voluntate mea, beatae memoriae senex Valerius dedit mihi hortum illum, in quo nunc est monasterium. Coepi boni propositi fratres colligere, compares meos, nihil habentes, sicut nihil habebam, et imitantes me, ut quomodo ego tenuem paupertatulam meam vendidi et pauperibus erogavi, sic facerent et illi qui mecum esse voluissent, ut de communi viveremus; commune autem nobis esset magnum et uberrimum praedium ipse Deus: Sermo* CCCLV i 2.

[3] *sub sanctis apostolis constitutam:* Act. 2:44 ff.

[4] *eis essent . . . erat:* From Act. 2:45, 4:35.

[5] *contra usum . . . Africanarum ecclesiarum:* Jerome complains of this unwritten law and calls it a most injurious practice: *Pessimae consuetudinis est, in quibusdam ecclesiis tacere presbyteros, et praesentibus episcopis non loqui, quasi aut invideant aut non dignentur audire: Ep.* LII, PL 22, 534. This restriction had likewise been observed in the Eastern Church but was first ignored by Arius, presbyter in the church at Alexandria, some seventy years before Augustine became presbyter in 391. Παρὰ δὲ Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι μόνος ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἐπίσκοπος. Φασὶ δὲ τοῦτο οὐ πρότερον εἰωθὸς ἐπιγενέσθαι, ἀφ' οὗ Ἄρειος πρεσβύτερος ὤν, περὶ τοῦ δόγματος διαλεγόμενος ἐνεωτέρισε: Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, PG 67, 1476. Similar testimony is given by Socrates: Πρεσβύτερος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ οὐ προσομιλεῖ καὶ τοῦτο ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν, ἀφ' οὗ Ἄρειος τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ἐτάραξεν: *Historia Ecclesiastica*: PG 67, 640.

[6] *accensa . . . lucebat:* From Jo. 5:35, Matth. 5:15, Marc. 4:21, Luc. 8:16.

CHAPTER VI

[1] *Fortunato:* This public discussion of Augustine with the Manichaean presbyter Fortunatus was held at the Baths of Sossius in Hippo Regius on August 28, 392: *Acta contra Fortunatum*, PL 42, 111.

[2] *paratus . . . est:* From 1 Pet. 3:15.

[3] *potensque . . . redarguere:* From Tit. 1:9.

[4] *notarii:* These stenographers, or short-hand reporters, were universally employed throughout the Roman world, not only by the government but also by the Church and private individuals. On their presence in the church at Hippo Regius and their reports of Augustine's sermons see R. J. Deferrari's article, *Verbatim Reports of Augustine's Unwritten Sermons*, Transactions of the American Philological Association 1915, XLVI 35-45.

[5] *ut se gestorum continet fides:* *Acta contra Fortunatum*, PL 42, 111.

CHAPTER VII

[1] *libris confectis et repentinis sermonibus:* In this connection *confectis* means composed, written or finished and *repentinis,* "sudden," off-hand, not prepared in writing, extempore. Thus Sidonius Apollinaris IX 3, 5, contrasts *praedicationes repentinas* with *praedicationes elucubratas.*

[2] *quisquis . . . adhibentes:* For *quisquis* with a singular verb and a plural participle compare Augustine's similar but less extremely abnormal *ammonuitque populum ut illum* [*serpentem*] *exaltatum quisquis a serpente morderetur attenderet; hoc facientes continuo sanabantur: De Peccatorum Meritis* I xxxii 61.

[3] *odorque suavissimus Christi:* From Eph. 5:2.

[4] *manifestata:* The post-classical verb *manifesto* is often used by Augustine, especially in the participal form, as *manifestatum est mihi: Confessiones* VII xii 18; *ex manifestato in carne Christo: Contra duas Epistolas Pelagianorum* IV iii 3. Augustine also uses it as a substantive: *per se ipsa manifestata delectant: De Doctrina Christiana* IV xii 28. Besides this instance in Possidius it again occurs in Chapter XIV: *cunctis manifestata,* and Chapter XXXI: *vixisse manifestatur.*

[5] *Quoniam . . . membra:* From 1 Cor. 12:26.

CHAPTER VIII

[1] *primatem episcoporum Carthaginensem:* Aurelius, the archbishop of Carthage for thirty-five years (388-423) in a period of critical importance. His confirmation was required for the election of a bishop in any city of Africa. He also convoked and presided over the various plenary councils held almost every year. He co-operated with Augustine in suppressing the Donatist schism, agreeing with him in a policy of moderation and appealing to the civil government only when the Donatist outrages and fanaticism became unbearable. Four of Augustine's epistles are addressed to Aurelius: XXII, XLI, LX, CLXXIV.

[2] *Megalio Calamensi episcopo:* Megalius was the immediate predecessor of Possidius as bishop of Calama, a North African town about forty miles south-west of Hippo Regius. His aversion to Augustine led him to oppose his election as coadjutor-bishop to Valerius, bishop of Hippo Regius, and he brought forward certain serious charges against him. These, however, he was unable to prove and was compelled to retract them. He became reconciled to Augustine and in 391 consecrated him as coadjutor to Valerius. He died in 397, the year after Valerius died. Accordingly within the one year (396-397) Valerius was succeeded by Augustine as bishop of Hippo and Megalius was succeeded by Possidius as bishop of Calama.

[3] *contra morem Ecclesiae:* Augustine thought that the consecration of the successor to a bishop while that bishop was yet living had no sanction in ecclesiastical custom. Valerius, however, was able to cite some exceptions, as Augustine himself states: *nonnullis iam exemplis praecedentibus, quibus mihi omnis excusatio claudebatur: Ep.* XXXI 4. He learned much later of the prohibition in the eighth canon of the Council of Nicaea held in 325: *Adhuc in corpore posito beatae memoriae patre et episcopo meo sene Valerio, episcopus ordinatus sum, et sedi cum illo: quod concilio Nicaeno prohibitum fuisse nesciebam, nec ipse sciebat: Ep.* CCXIII 4. Nevertheless the canon of Nicaea, while providing against two bishops in one diocese, left the way open for ordaining a coadjutor to the bishop, if the bishop so desired. The ordination of Augustine was therefore entirely lawful.

[4] *nec . . . aliis fieri voluit:* On September 26, 426 Augustine proposed in an assembly of bishops, clergy and people held at Hippo Regius that the presbyter Heraclius should relieve him of his secular cares in order that he might devote himself entirely to the study of the Scriptures. He asked that Heraclius should succeed him as bishop, but in deference to what he believed to be the prohibition of the Council of Nicaea, and in view of the blame he had himself received for becoming a bishop while Valerius was yet alive, he announced that Heraclius would remain a presbyter till the proper time came for making him a bishop: *Ep.* CCXIII 4, 5.

[5] *conciliis constitueretur episcoporum:* This action was taken by the Third Council of Carthage in 397, canon III: *Item placuit, ut ordinandis episcopis vel clericis, prius ab ordinatoribus suis decreta conciliorum auribus eorum inculcentur, ne se aliquid contra statuta concilii fecisse asserant: Collectio Conciliorum* III 880.

CHAPTER IX

[1] *paratus . . . est:* From 1 Pet. 3:15.

[2] *Donatistae:* The Donatist schism was local, not extending beyond North Africa. It arose from a question of the discipline of the *traditores,* namely those who had surrendered the sacred writings during the Diocletian persecution, 303-311. In 311 a division arose over the election of Caecilianus as bishop of Carthage, the opposition party declaring it invalid because Felix, who had performed the ordination service, was a *traditor,* and because the Numidian bishops had had no vote in the election. Majorinus was elected as counter-bishop and on his death in 315 was succeeded by Donatus, called the Great, from whom the party received its name. Since they regarded themselves as the only pure church—all the others being *traditores*—they required all converts to be rebaptized: see *Ep.* LXVI to Crispinus. They were

condemned at various councils (Carthage 311, Rome 313, Arles 314). In spite of this, at the end of the fourth century they had more followers in North Africa than the orthodox Church. However, the reenforcement they received from such fanatics as the Circumcellions brought them into disrepute and this, combined with the efforts of Augustine, did much to reduce their power and secure their condemnation at the Conference of Carthage in 411. The controversy was finally ended by the Vandal invasion of Africa in 428.

[3] *cum timore . . . operabatur:* From Phil. 2:12.

CHAPTER X

[1] *Circumcelliones:* Fanatical and lawless roving bands of schismatics in North Africa, associated with the Donatists. The first record of their appearance is in 347 (Optatus). They called themselves *Milites Christi Agonistici* (see Optatus, *De Schismate Donatistarum,* PL 11, 1007) but were popularly known as *Circumcelliones.* This name, as explained by Augustine, is compounded from *circum* and *cella,* because they went around to the huts of the country folk to get food: *Victus sui causa cellas circumiens rusticanas, unde et Circumcellionum nomen accepit: Contra Gaudentium* I xxviii 32. Their violence was not confined to waylaying and assaulting others, but often led them to seek voluntary martyrdom by the sword or by leaping over precipices. A detailed statement of their excesses and cruelties is given in *Ep.* LXXXVIII 6-8. For the Circumcellions generally see J. C. Robertson, *History of the Christian Church* I 277-278.

[2] *calcem cum aceto in oculos miserunt:* Compare Augustine's comment on the same act in *Ep.* LXXXVIII 8: *In oculos extinguendos calcem mixto aceto incredibili excogitatione sceleris mittunt,* and also *Quis enim barbarus excogitare potuit quod isti, ut in oculos clericorum nostrorum calcem et acetum mitterent: Ep.* CXI 1.

CHAPTER XI

[1] *ferme decem:* Among these bishops were Possidius, who became bishop of Calama, Alypius of Tagaste, Severus of Milevum (*Ep.* XXXI 9), Urbanus of Sicca (*Ep.* CXLIX 34), Evodius of Uzelis, Profuturus of Cirta, Privatus and Servilius (*Ep.* CLVIII 9, 11). Besides these eight Salinas adds Fortunatus, successor of Profuturus as bishop of Cirta, and Peregrinus. Tillemont also suggests a certain Bonifacius (XIII 155). Possidius nowhere "enumerates" ten bishops as is stated in the Catholic Encyclopedia II 87.

[2] *in Graecum sermonem translatos:* None of these Greek translations referred to by Possidius are extant.

[3] *peccator . . . tabescebat:* From Psalm 111:10.

[4] *cum his . . . ab eis:* From Psalm 119:7.

CHAPTER XII

[1] *succenturiati:* "re-enforced to the full complement," "in full force." Donatus, explaining *succenturiatus* in his commentary on the *Phormio,* states its use as *translatio e re militari.*

[2] *ducatoris:* A post-classical word. It is found in Augustine: *coepit habere ducatores: Serm.* CCV 2.

[3] *manus impias abisse:* Augustine gives a similar account of this narrow escape: *Nonnullis errare profuit aliquando, sed in via pedum, non in via morum. Nam nobis ipsis accidit, ut in quodam bivio falleremur, et non iremus per eum locum ubi opperiens transitum nostrum Donatistarum manus armata subsederat: atque ita factum est, ut eo quo tendebamus, per devium circuitum veniremus; cognitisque insidiis illorum, nos gratularemur errasse, atque inde gratias ageremus Deo: Enchiridion* xvii 5.

[4] *domusque Dei zelum:* From Psalm 68: 10, Jo. 2: 17.

[5] *unus ex his:* i.e. Possidius. This murderous attack on Possidius made by a certain presbyter Crispinus, who is not to be confused with his supposed relative the Donatist bishop Crispinus of Calama, is described by Augustine *Contra Cresconium Donatistam* III xlvi 50 and Ep. CV 4.

[6] *clero:* The clergy collectively, so named from κλῆρος the lot or portion of the Lord.

[7] *inter leges non siluit:* This seems to be based on the proverb, *inter arma leges silent.*

[8] *Crispinus:* There are many references in Augustine's writings to Crispinus, the Donatist bishop of Calama, including two letters directly addressed to him. After Crispinus had refused an invitation to engage in an oral debate, Augustine, in *Ep.* LI, invites him to a written discussion. Evidently this invitation was not accepted. In *Ep.* LXVI he reproaches Crispinus for the forcible rebaptizing of Catholics by the Donatists. The same subject is taken up in *Contra Litteras Petiliani* II lxxxiii 184. References to the trial and condemnation of Crispinus and the Donatists occur in *Contra Cresconium Donatistam* III xlvi 50, xlvii 51 and *Ep.* LXXXVIII 7.

[9] *Ecclesiae defensore:* Probably Possidius, whose failure to mention his own name is in keeping with his habit throughout the *Vita.* Compare *unus ex his* in the preceding sentence and the other instances in this chapter.

[10] *infirmis scandalum nasceretur:* From 1 Cor. 8: 9, Rom. 14: 13.

[11] *tertio conflictum:* The first is apparently the assault of the followers of Crispinus on Possidius, the second the public notice to Crispinus that he was subject to the fine which was imposed on here-

tics, and the third the debate here mentioned which ended in the proconsular condemnation of Crispinus.

[12] *libellari:* "formally recorded." The English word "libellary" has the same sense. This term of Roman law means the libel or written statement of his cause of action made by the plaintiff at the beginning of a suit. See the word in the Oxford English Dictionary. The "libellary sentence" passed on Crispinus is a formal written statement explaining and justifying the sentence.

[13] *auraria mulcta:* In *Ep.* LXXXVIII 7, sent by the clergy of Hippo to Januarius, a Donatist bishop in Numidia, but evidently written by Augustine, the amount of the fine is stated as *poena decem librarum auri.* Compare also *Contra Cresconium Donatistam* III xlvii 51. Fines were prescribed as the penalty for the Donatist heretics by the Emperor Theodosius: see PL 11, 1420.

[14] *officium:* *Officium* in the legal sense of the body of officials or court officers is usual in the time of Augustine. Compare *Paulus episcopus dixit: Novit officium publicum, id est Edesius et Iunius exceptores: Contra Cresconium,* PL 43, 513; and . . . *sicut interrogatum respondit Officium: Breviculus Collationis cum Donatistis,* PL 43, 616. See also PL 43, 621, 643-644 and *Serm.* LXVI 1.

CHAPTER XIII

[1] *iustitiae coronam:* From 2 Tim. 4:8.

[2] *augebatur et multiplicabatur:* From Act. 12:24.

[3] *Honorio:* Western Emperor 395-423.

[4] *Marcellinum:* The tribune Marcellinus was sent by the Emperor Honorius from Rome to Africa in 411 with authority to hear and judge the controversy between the Donatists and Catholics. Accordingly he presided at the celebrated Conference of Carthage held that same year, at which the Donatist schism was condemned and effectually checked. Because of his decision in favor of the Catholics, the Donatists accused him of accepting a bribe: Optatus, *Historia Donatistarum,* PL 11, 820; *Ep.* CXLI 1, 12.

Augustine's acquaintance with Marcellinus evidently began at this time and quickly ripened into intimacy. In compliance with his request Augustine began writing the *De Civitate Dei* in 412 (I Praef., II 1) and also dedicated to him the *De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione* and *De Spiritu et Littera.* Four letters from Augustine to him are still extant.

In 413 Marcellinus was arrested, probably at the instigation of the Donatists: Jerome, *Contra Pelagianos,* PL 23, 616; Orosius, *Historia,* PL 31, 1171. Although Augustine intervened in his behalf and received assurance of his safety and prompt release, Marcellinus, together with

his elder brother Apringius, was hurriedly and secretly put to death September 13, 413: Optatus, *Historia Donatistarum,* PL 11, 821. Augustine exposed the treachery of his murder and also paid a touching tribute to his noble character: *Ep.* CLI 5, 6 and 8. After his death the legal decisions of Marcellinus were confirmed: *Codex Theodosianus* XVI 5, 55.

Jerome's *Ep.* CXXVI is addressed to Marcellinus in answer to the latter's questions on the origin of the soul and refers him to Augustine for fuller instruction. After the death of Marcellinus a treatise on this subject, *De Origine Animae Hominis,* was composed by Augustine and sent to Jerome in 415: *Ep.* CLXVI.

CHAPTER XIV

[1] *qui dicerent:* The objection of the Donatist bishops that they had not been tried by an impartial tribunal was valid, for the Emperor Honorius and his delegate Marcellinus were committed in advance to a hostile decision. The contention of Possidius that the Donatist bishops by consenting to attend the Conference agreed to abide by its decision has no force, since the Donatist bishops really had no alternative. Notwithstanding Augustine's full explanation in the *De Gestis cum Emerito,* PL 43, 697, his consent to this unfair trial reveals the extent to which he had departed from his earlier attitude of toleration which was well stated in *Ep.* XXXIV 1 to the Donatist Eusebius, written in 396: *neque me id agere ut ad communionem Catholicam quisquam cogatur invitus.* His intolerant application of *"cogite intrare"* dates from about 408: *Ep.* XCIII ii 5.

[2] *in Caesariensi Mauritaniae civitate constitutus:* Augustine also mentions this visit to Julia Caesarea: *tamen quia illae [litterae] quas ad Mauritaniam Caesariensem misisti, me apud Caesaream praesente venerunt, quo nos iniuncta nobis a venerabili papa Zosimo apostolicae Sedis episcopo ecclesiastica necessitas traxerat: Ep.* CXC 1. In another letter written soon after he again refers to this visit: *Cum vero inde (a Carthagine) digressi sumus, perreximus usque ad Mauritaniam Caesariensem, quo nos ecclesiastica necessitas traxit: Ep.* CXCIII 1.

[3] *Emeritum:* Donatist bishop of Julia Caesarea. He was present at the Conference of Carthage in 411: PL 11, 1228. The meeting of Catholic bishops described by Possidius was held at Julia Caesarea in 418 and on that occasion Augustine unsuccessfully tried to persuade Emeritus to return to the Catholic Church: *De Gestis cum Emerito,* PL 43, 697, and later addressed to him a letter now lost: *Retractationes* II 46.

[4] *Iam illa . . . fuerimus:* Compare Augustine's record of the same

remark of Emeritus: *Gesta indicant, si victus sum aut vici: si veritate victus sum aut potestate oppressus sum: De Gestis cum Emerito,* PL 43, 700. The *Gesta* referred to by Emeritus are the proceedings of the Conference of Carthage in 411, Mansi IV 7-246.

[5] *ait, et cum reticeret: Ait,* the reading of the MSS as opposed to that of the editions, is supported by Augustine: *Emeritus episcopus partis Donati dixit notario qui excipiebat: Fac. Cumque reticeret . . .: De Gestis cum Emerito,* PL 43, 700.

[6] *gesta: De Gestis cum Emerito,* PL 43, 697.

CHAPTER XV

[1] *credo . . . voluerit:* A post-classical and mild consessive use of *credo* (somewhat like *licet*) joined directly with the subjunctive without *quod* or any intervening word in the sense of "supposing," "perhaps" or "maybe."

[2] *Firmus:* Probably unknown, as Possidius's *quidam* would seem to imply. The Firmus mentioned in *Epp.* CLXXXIV 7, CXCI 1, CXCIV 1, and CCXLVIII 2 was doubtless another person.

[3] *sanctum . . . benediximus:* From Psalm 102: 1.

[4] *per scientes . . . animarum:* For similar phrasing compare Augustine: *sed utens tu omnibus et scientibus et nescientibus ordine quo nosti: Confessiones* VI viii 12.

CHAPTER XVI

[1] *Ursum:* Augustine also mentions the activity of this Ursus, a Roman tribune, against the Manichaeans at Carthage: *instante Urso tribuno, qui tunc domui regiae praefuit: De Haeresibus* XLVI. Ursus also caused (421?) the famous temple of the Dea Coelestis at Carthage to be razed to the ground and the site to be used as a Christian cemetery: *Liber de Promissionibus,* PL 51, 835.

[2] *ad tabulas:* i.e. in the presence of the *notarii* who took down in short-hand both questions and answers on their tablets (*ad tabulas*).

[3] *Felice:* This discussion with Felix took place on December 7 and 12, 404: *De Actis cum Felice Manichaeo,* PL 42, 519 and 535. From the acts of the second day it appears that the books of Felix had been confiscated and were being guarded under the public seal. This and Felix's recantation at the end give the debate almost the appearance of a trial.

[4] *frustrata:* In this sense post-Augustan and very rare.

[5] *sicut . . . scriptura:* This record is found in *De Actis cum Felice Manichaeo,* PL 42, 519.

CHAPTER XVII

[1] *Pascentio:* The date of this controversy with Pascentius is uncertain. As a sequel to the public debate Augustine wrote three letters to Pascentius (CCXXXVIII, CCXXXIX, CCXLI) but received only one short reply (*Ep.* CCXL). Outside these letters and the account of Possidius there seems to be no definite information regarding the controversy.

[2] *Ariano:* The Arian heresy which affected the whole Christian world, was so named from the presbyter Arius of Alexandria, who taught in regard to the Trinity that the Son is not of the same substance with the Father, but of like substance, and is not co-eternal, but the first of all creatures. This teaching was condemned at the Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in 325. Fierce controversies followed and various synods were held. Jovian, Valentinian I and Gratian granted toleration to both parties. Arianism declined and was virtually suppressed in the Roman world in the times of Theodosius I (379-395) and Valentinian II (375-392).

[3] *Maximino:* This discussion on the Trinity between Maximinus, the Arian bishop of Hippo Regius, and Augustine was held at Hippo Regius in 427 or 428; see PL 42, 707. The report of the *collatio* shows that Maximinus skilfully avoided Augustine's direct questions and took so much time in his final presentation that Augustine had no sufficient opportunity to answer: PL 42, 709-742. Augustine resented this and composed a prompt and full reply in his two books *Contra Maximinum:* PL 42, 743-814. In his opening sentence he makes a pointed thrust at Maximinus: *cuius prolixitate spatium diei, quo praesentes conferebamus, absumpsit.*

There was another Maximinus, Catholic bishop of Sinita, near Hippo Regius, who is mentioned by Augustine in *De Civitate Dei* XXII viii 6 and elsewhere.

[4] *scriptum est: Collatio cum Maximino,* PL 42, 709.

CHAPTER XVIII

[1] *Pelagianistas:* The Pelagian heresy, which arose in the time of Augustine, received its name from Pelagius, a British monk (c. 360-420): *Pelagianorum est haeresis . . . a Pelagio monacho exorta: De Haeresibus* LXXXVIII. He held that the human will is sufficient without divine grace to fulfill the commands of God. Augustine immediately aroused the Church against this new heresy and became its principal antagonist in his copious anti-Pelagian writings, which exerted a profound and lasting influence. The doctrine of Pelagius was promptly condemned by Innocent I (*Epp.* CLXXXI, CLXXXII) in

response to a letter from the Council of Carthage held in 416 (*Ep.* CLXXV) and the Council of Milevum, held in the same year (*Ep.* CLXXVI). It was again condemned by Zosimus in 418, by the Emperor Honorius in the same year, and again by Zosimus later. However it was not till 431, the year following Augustine's death, that the heresy was finally condemned by the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus.

[2] *annos ferme decem:* Augustine issued his principal anti-Pelagian writings in rapid succession in the years 412-421. After an interval, however, four other treatises appeared, two in 426-427, and two in 428-429: Teuffel III 371.

[3] *Innocentio:* Pope 402-417.

[4] *Zosimo:* Pope 417-418.

[5] *indisciplinationes:* This late form, with a few others of like composition, means the failure to keep up to a standard, as is more clearly brought out in Chapter XXV.

[6] *Indiculum:* This *Indiculus,* which is the appendix to the *Vita Augustini* of Possidius, is the earliest detailed list of Augustine's writings. It is to be found in PL 46, 5. Possidius fixes the total of Augustine's works at 1030. Inspection of the *Indiculus,* however, shows that he counted as a separate work each epistle or sermon known to him, thus arriving at this large total which, nevertheless, does not include all that Augustine wrote, as appears from the statement at the end of the *Indiculus: memoratus sanctus Augustinus episcopus Spiritu divino actus, in sancta Ecclesia catholica ad instructionem animarum fecit libros, tractatus, epistolas numero 1030, exceptis iis qui numerari non possunt, quia nec numerum designavit ipsorum.*

At the end of the *Retractationes* Augustine states that he had revised *opera XCIII in libris CCXXXII,* exclusive of his epistles and sermons. Victor Vitensis, writing in 486, likewise gives the total as 232 "books," besides "innumerable" epistles, expositions of whole Psalms and Gospels, and popular sermons: *De Persecutione Vandalica* PL 58, 185.

Indiculus or *Indiculum* is post-classical and rare.

CHAPTER XIX

[1] *apud infideles:* 1 Cor. 6: 1-6.

[2] *causas audiebat:* One of the regular duties of the bishop at this time was to hear and decide the cases of his parishioners. This judicial authority had risen gradually till it became very important and gained the recognition of the civil government. In the Christian Roman empire a bishop had power to judge civil and criminal cases not involving capital punishment. See *Codex Theodosianus* IX 3 7, IX 16 12,

XV 8 2, XVI 10 19. In *Ep.* CCXIII, which is a public report made in 426, Augustine complains that these duties have become so onerous that he had no time left for studying the Scriptures and therefore asks his people to bring their secular difficulties to the presbyter Heraclius. For a discussion of the development of this judicial power among the clergy as revealed by legislation see W. K. Boyd, *The Ecclesiastical Edicts of the Theodosian Code,* 87-102.

[3] *peccantes . . . haberent:* From 1 Tim. 5:20.

[4] *speculator . . . Israel:* From Ezech. 3:17.

[5] *praedicans . . . doctrina:* From 2 Tim. 4:2.

[6] *qui . . . docere:* From 2 Tim. 2:2.

[7] *angariam:* A legal term: see *Codex Theodosianus* VIII 5. *Angaria* (*ἀγγαρεία*) is the enforced service due from a peasant to a lord. In the Vulgate the verb *angario* is used to denote compulsory service, as in Matth. 27:22 and Mark 15:21 (Simon compelled to bear the cross). Augustine also uses *angaria* to describe the eager, unresting forced march of the Christian pilgrim through this world. Compare *In Psalmo* LI 4: *In ipsa republica angariam quodammodo faciebat Ioseph, sicut illi tres pueri, sicut Daniel;* and *In Psalmo* LXI 8: *Et quasi angariam faciunt in civitate transitura.*

CHAPTER XX

[1] *contemplatione:* Late Latin in the sense of "consideration" or "regard," occurring mostly in the jurists.

[2] *Africae vicarium:* The *vicarius* was the head of a diocese of which, at this time, there were twelve and which in turn composed the four prefectures. He was a civil administrator only and had supervision over the provinces into which his diocese was divided. The *vicarius* of Africa had six provinces under his direction. See F. F. Abbott, *History and Description of Roman Political Institutions,* sec. 398.

[3] *Macedonium:* Vicar of Africa in 414. He was authorized to enforce the imperial decrees against the Donatists. For the correspondence between him and Augustine see *Epp.* CLII-CLV.

[4] *hoc more scriptum misit:* This letter may be found in full among the epistles of Augustine (CLIV).

[5] *petibile:* "fair to ask"; a rare word apparently not found elsewhere in extant Latin literature.

CHAPTER XXI

[1] *non . . . quaerens:* From Phil. 2:21.

CHAPTER XXII

[1] *non . . . quaerentes:* From Phil. 2:21.

[2] *neque in dexteram . . . declinans:* From Num. 20:17 and Prov. 4:27. This attitude of Augustine in matters of dress is fully revealed in *Serm.* CCCLVI 13: *Nemo det byrrhum vel lineam tunicam seu aliquid, nisi in commune: de communi accipio et mihi ipsi, cum sciam commune me habere velle quidquid habeo. Nolo talia offerat sanctitas vestra, quibus ego solus quasi decentius utar; offerat mihi, verbi gratia, byrrhum pretiosum; forte decet episcopum, quamvis non deceat Augustinum, id est, hominem pauperem, de pauperibus natum. Modo dicturi sunt homines, quia inveni pretiosas vestes, quas non potuissem habere vel in domo patris mei vel in illa seculari professione mea. Non decet: talem debeo habere, qualem possum, si non habuerit, fratri meo dare. Qualem potest habere presbyter, qualem potest habere decenter diaconus et subdiaconus, talem volo accipere, quia in commune accipio. Si quis meliorem dederit, vendo: quod et facere soleo, ut quando non potest vestis esse communis, pretium vestis possit esse commune. Vendo et erogo pauperibus. Si hoc eum delectat, ut ego habeam, talem det unde non erubescam. Fateor enim vobis, de pretiosa veste erubesco, quia non decet hanc professionem, hanc admonitionem, non decet haec membra, non decet hos canos.*

[3] *orationem:* 1 Tim. 4:4-5.

[4] *in suis Confessionum libris: Confessiones* X xxxi 46.

[5] *infirmitates:* 1 Tim. 5:23.

[6] *non . . . voluntatis:* A reminiscence of Philem. 1:14.

[7] *contra pestilentiam humanae consuetudinis:* To do away with the habit of tale-bearing at the table, the Third Council of Toledo later (589) decreed that Scripture should be read aloud during meals: *. . . id universa sancta constituit synodus, ut quia solent crebro mensis otiosae fabulae interponi, in omni sacerdotali convivio lectio scripturarum divinarum misceatur. Per hoc enim et animae aedificantur ad bonum et fabulae non necessariae prohibentur:* Canon 7, Mansi, *Collectio Conciliorum,* IX 994.

CHAPTER XXIII

[1] *alloquebatur plebem Dei:* Two of Augustine's addresses on such an occasion are fully recorded in two sermons CCCLV and CCCLVI entitled *De Vita et Moribus Clericorum Suorum.*

[2] *in vetere Testamento:* Deut. 18.

CHAPTER XXIV

[1] *ad vices:* Apparently a late usage instead of the usual *in vicem* or *in vices.*

[2] *aliquas eum hereditates recusasse novimus:* Augustine refused the legacy of a ship from Boniface because he thought the Church should not be a ship-owner, taking the risk of loss through shipwreck, and would not accept the estate of anyone who had disinherited his son. He cites with admiration the example of Aurelius, Archbishop of Carthage, who, on the birth of an heir, promptly returned an estate which had been given to the church by a man who was childless when he made the gift: *Serm.* CCCLV 5.

[3] *refragatione:* A late and rare word. There is an instance in Augustine: *et in re facillima quae recte placuerat, curvam refragationem et nodos difficultatis posuissem: Ep.* CCXLI 1.

[4] *ab ea:* From Luc. 10: 39-42.

[5] *Interea:* "at times"; originally poetic in this sense.

[6] *scripsit:* The passage from Ambrose, unidentified by Possidius, occurs in his *De Officiis Ministrorum,* PL 16, 148-150. Ambrose declases that there are three cases in which a bishop may be justified in melting and selling the sacred vessels: to ransom the captive or relieve the poor, to build a church, and to enlarge the burial grounds. Victor Vitensis mentions a similar instance in which Deogratias, Bishop of Carthage, used the gold and silver vessels of the church to ransom the prisoners taken by Geiseric: *De Persecutione Vandalica,* PL 58, 191.

[7] *fidelibus:* The name for baptized Christians, as distinguished from *catechumeni,* the candidates not yet admitted to baptism. Thus Augustine remarks that if anyone says he is a Christian he must then be asked whether he is *catechumenus* or *fidelis: Tractatus in Ioannem* XLIV 2.

[8] *se praesente:* Of course at some time when Augustine was in Milan, 384-387.

CHAPTER XXV

[1] *vestiebatur:* Augustine's own references to the daily life in the monastery at Hippo are naturally more vivid and intimate than the matter-of-fact recital of Possidius. The following quotations may be given: *Nostis omnes aut pene omnes, sic nos vivere in ea domo, quae dicitur domus episcopii, ut quantum possumus, imitemur eos sanctos, de quibus loquitur liber Actuum Apostolorum: Nemo dicebat aliquid proprium, sed erant illis omnia communia: Sermo* CCCLV i 2. *Ecce quomodo vivimus. Nulli licet in societate nostra habere aliquid pro-*

prium; sed forte aliqui habent. Nulli licet; si qui habent, faciunt quod non licet. Bene autem sentio de fratribus meis, et semper bene credens ab hac inquisitione dissimulavi; quia et ista quaerere, quasi male sentire mihi videbatur. Novcram enim et novi omnes, qui mecum viverent, nosse propositum nostrum, nosse legem vitae nostrae: Sermo CCCLV ii 2. *Quisquis cum hypocrisi vixerit, quisquis inventus fuerit habens proprium, non illi permitto ut inde faciat testamentum, sed delebo eum de tabula clericorum. Interpellet contra me mille concilia, naviget contra me quo voluerit, sit certe ubi potuerit: adiuvabit me Deus, ut ubi ego episcopus sum, ille clericus esse non possit: Sermo* CCCVI 14.

[2] *ad periurium cecidisset:* Based on Jac. 5: 12.

[3] *suis instituerat:* The dative with *instituere* in the sense of "to instruct anyone" is a later usage for the classical accusative.

[4] *ne . . . peccatis:* From Psalm 140: 4.

[5] *Et dum . . . offerendum:* From Matth. 5: 23-24.

[6] *in parte:* "apart," "in private"; a post-classical sense. *In parte* in classical usage means "in part," as *in parte verum:* Quintilian II 8 6.

[7] *Si vero ipse . . . publicanus:* From Matth. 18: 15-17.

[8] *ut fratri . . . relaxaretur:* From Matth. 18: 21-22.

CHAPTER XXVI

[1] *quae pariter Deo serviebant:* Augustine had established a nunnery at Hippo Regius of which his sister was prioress and to which the daughters of his brother Navigius also belonged. This seems to have been the first nunnery in Africa, though later than those founded by Jerome and Paula in Palestine in 384. After the death of Augustine's sister in 423 dissension arose among the nuns over the appointment of Felicitas as her successor. Augustine wrote them a stern letter of rebuke and, improving the opportunity, laid down a code of strict rules for their conduct: *Ep.* CCXI.

The name of Augustine's sister is not certainly known. Church tradition gives it as Perpetua. See the Bollandistes, *Vies des Saints* V 306.

[2] *Dicebat . . . quia:* A verb of saying followed by *quia* and the subjunctive instead of by the infinitive is common in Augustine and late Latin generally. In this paragraph Possidius uses both constructions.

[3] *aforis: Aforis,* as well as *deforis* and *foris,* occurs in the Vulgate. Augustine has *aforis* in *De Nuptiis et Concupiscentia* II xiii 27.

[4] *offendiculum . . . infirmis:* From 1 Cor. 8: 9 and Rom. 14: 13.

[5] *scandalum . . . infirmis:* From 1 Cor. 8: 9 and Rom. 14: 13.

CHAPTER XXVII

[1] *viduas . . . visitaret:* From Jac. 1:27.

[2] *non . . . habemus:* These dying words of Ambrose, who had been so influential in bringing Augustine to the Christian faith are also recorded in almost exactly the same form by Paulinus, *Vita Ambrosii,* PL 14, 45: *non ita inter vos vixi, ut pudeat me vivere, nec timeo mori, quia Dominum bonum habemus.*

[3] *Dimitte nobis debita nostra:* Matth. 6:12.

[4] *de mortalitate scripsit:* Composed some time between 252 and 256 A.D. The passage here cited by Possidius occurs in Chapter XIX.

[5] *sanctus . . . martyr Cyprianus:* Cyprian (c. 200-258) was the first bishop in Africa to suffer martyrdom: *Sic consummata passione perfectum est ut Cyprianus qui bonorum omnium fuerat exemplum, etiam sacerdotales coronas in Africa primus imbueret, quia et talis esse post apostolos prior coeperat:* Pontius, *Vita Cypriani,* PL 3, 1557. His writings are frequently quoted by Augustine. Two basilicas were built at Carthage in his memory, one where he was martyred, the other where he was buried. Both were outside the city walls, one being on the sea-shore. This latter was the place where Monica watched the night Augustine sailed for Italy: *Confessiones* V viii 15. See also PL 58, 187.

CHAPTER XXVIII

[1] *De Recensione Librorum:* This is the *Retractationes,* which was issued in 427, three years before Augustine's death. It contains a general revision of all his works except his Epistles and Sermons to the people, as he states in the closing paragraph.

[2] *quosdam libros . . . conquerebatur:* Such was the case with Augustine's treatise *De Trinitate* which he complained was taken from him and issued hastily in parts before he had completed his final emendation: see *Retractationes* II xv 1 and *Ep.* CLXXIV.

[3] *irruisset:* This invasion of Africa by the Vandals occurred in 428.

[4] *apponit dolorem:* Eccles. 1:18.

[5] *cor intelligens tinea ossibus:* A fragment of Prov. 25:20 from some pre-Vulgate version. See Petri Sabatier, *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae seu Vetus Italica,* Remis 1743, II 336.

[6] *fuerunt . . . nocte:* From Psalm 41:4.

[7] *effugatos:* A post-classical word.

[8] *sustentaculis:* A rare post-classical word, used once in Tacitus. It is used by Augustine in the passage: *multis non est causa ista faciendi, sed quod viliore victu vivere placet, minimeque sumptuoso corporis sustentaculo aetatem tranquillissimam ducere: De Moribus*

Ecclesiae Catholicae I xxxiii 72. Three other instances occur in one of his sermons: LI xiv 23 and 24.

[9] *licet . . . concremata:* Apparently the only source for our knowledge of the burning of Hippo. Gibbon does not mention the burning.

[10] *cuiusdam sapientis:* I am unable to identify this vague reference.

[11] *Bonifacius:* Count Boniface was governor of the province of Africa during part of the regency of Placidia (425-450). He was a zealous Christian and was highly esteemed by Augustine. After the death of his first wife he was on the point of entering a monastery but was persuaded by Augustine and Alypius that he could be of greater service to the Church by repelling the barbarian hosts. Through the treachery of his court rival Aëtius, Placidia was turned against him and to defend himself he unwisely invited the Vandals into Africa as his allies. Later, when the treachery of Aëtius was discovered, Boniface was received back into imperial favor and sought to drive the Vandals out of Africa. After an unsuccessful battle he was besieged in Hippo Regius for fourteen months. On August 28, 430, in the third month of the siege, Augustine died. In July 431 the Vandals raised the siege of Hippo and withdrew. Then after another defeat in battle by the Vandals, Boniface escaped by sea to Italy. He died soon afterward from a wound received in single combat with Aëtius. See *Epp.* CLXXXV, CLXXXIX and CCXX, particularly the last. A full account of Boniface is given in Gibbon, *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* XXXIII.

[12] *iudicium tuum:* Psalm 118: 137.

[13] *miserationum . . . consolationis:* From 2 Cor. 1: 3.

CHAPTER XXX

[1] *Thiabensis:* Thiabe was a small town in Numidia, probably between Tagaste and Hippo Regius: see Morcellus, *Africa Christiana* I 314. Augustine mentions it in *Ep.* LXXXIII.

[2] *Honorato:* This letter was written in 428-429 to Honoratus, at that time bishop of the neighboring town of Thiabe. This Honoratus is not mentioned elsewhere.

[3] *Romaniae:* A word of late popular origin, applied to distinguish the world of Roman civilization from the barbarian world, rather than to distinguish the Roman Empire from any other state. See *Romania* I, 1872, p. 12. This instance in Possidius and two others in Orosius, *Historia,* PL 31, 840 and 1172 are apparently the earliest recorded occurrences of the word in Latin literature.

[4] *eversoribus:* Compare with this the use of the word in *Confessiones* III iii 6, where it is applied to the bands of students at Carthage

who made a practice of interrupting and breaking up classes. For a vivid and nearly contemporary account of this invasion see Victor Vitensis, *De Persecutione Vandalica,* PL 58, 181.

[5] *epistolae:* The letter to Quodvultdeus is not extant.

[6] *Quodvultdeo:* He was probably the same as the Quodvultdeus who was bishop of Carthage at the time of its capture by the Vandals in 438. With a considerable number of his clergy he was put on board some leaky ships and set adrift, but reached Naples where he remained till his death (in 444?): Victor Vitensis, *De Persecutione Vandalica,* PL 58, 187. He must be distinguished from three others of the same name who appear in Augustine's works: (1) Quodvultdeus, probably bishop of Girba (site unknown) who was present at the Conference of Carthage in 411 and at the Council of Carthage in 416 (*Ep.* CLXXV); (2) Quodvultdeus, a presbyter mentioned in *Contra Litteras Petiliani* III xxxii 37; and (3) Quodvultdeus, a deacon, at whose request Augustine wrote *De Haeresibus: Epp.* CCXXI-CCXXIV.

[7] *nos . . . alligavit:* From 2 Cor. 5:14.

[8] *munitum:* Psalm 30:3.

[9] *aliam:* Matth. 10:23.

[10] *ne illum . . . eius:* From 2 Cor. 11:33.

[11] *ponere:* 1 Joan. 3:16.

[12] *de civitate . . . fugiendum:* From Matth. 10:23.

[13] *et mercenarium . . . ovibus:* From Jo. 10:12-13.

[14] *quod supra memoravi:* As mentioned above in section 2 of this letter.

[15] *sanctus Athanasius:* This withdrawal of Athanasius marks the beginning of his third exile, which he spent in the desert, 356-362. From the time of his accession to the episcopal chair of Alexandria in 328, his life was a continual series of conflicts with Arianism. Though at times opposed by practically the whole Christian world he maintained the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity.

After his return from this third exile of six years in the desert, he was again banished by Julian and later by Jovian. In 366, however, he was finally reinstated in the church at Alexandria where he remained without further interruption till his death in 373.

[16] *Constantius:* Constantius II, together with his two brothers Constantine II and Constans, assumed the title of Augustus September 9, 337. From 350 till his death in 361 he was sole emperor.

[17] *et peribit . . . mortuus est:* From 1 Cor. 8:11.

[18] *uror:* 2 Cor. 11:29.

[19] *Oremus . . . iubetur:* Merely another form of Augustine's fa-

mous saying, *da quod iubes et iube quod vis: Confessiones* X xxix 40, which he so often used in the Pelagian controversy.

[20] *operatur:* See the *De Civitate Dei* I xvi-xviii for a like expression of the same views written some fifteen years earlier.

[21] *membra corporis Christi:* From Eph. 5:30. This sentence is a remarkable example of Augustine's balanced antithesis, wherein every word in the first member is matched by a word in the second member having the same construction with the same final syllable.

[22] *ut si . . . eius:* From Matth. 26:42.

[23] *sua quaerunt . . . Christi:* From Phil. 2:21.

[24] *sunt:* 1 Cor. 13:5.

[25] *fiant:* 1 Cor. 10:33.

[26] *vos:* Phil. 1:23-24.

[27] *supra diximus:* In section 6 of this letter.

[28] *Israel:* 2 Reg. 21:17.

[29] *definit:* Prov. 18:18.

[30] *saluti . . est:* From 2 Tim. 2:10.

[31] *mercenarius . . . ovibus:* From Jo. 10:12-13.

CHAPTER XXXI

[1] *annis ferme quadraginta:* From the time of his consecration as presbyter in 391 until his death in 430 is thirty-nine years.

[2] *Psalmos . . . de poenitentia:* The seven penitential Psalms are 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, 142 in the Vulgate. The "shortest" of these are 6, 31, 129 and 142.

[3] *impraetermisse:* Apparently the earliest recorded instance of the word.

[4] *ut scriptum est:* As it is written of David in 3 Reg. 2:10 and 1 Par. 29:28.

[5] *vivere . . . mea est:* I am unable to discover the authorship of this elegiac couplet.

[6] *eruditus . . . vetera:* From Matth. 13:52.

[7] *unus . . . comparavit:* From Matth. 13:46.

[8] *facite:* Jac. 2:12.

[9] *coelorum:* Matth. 5:19.

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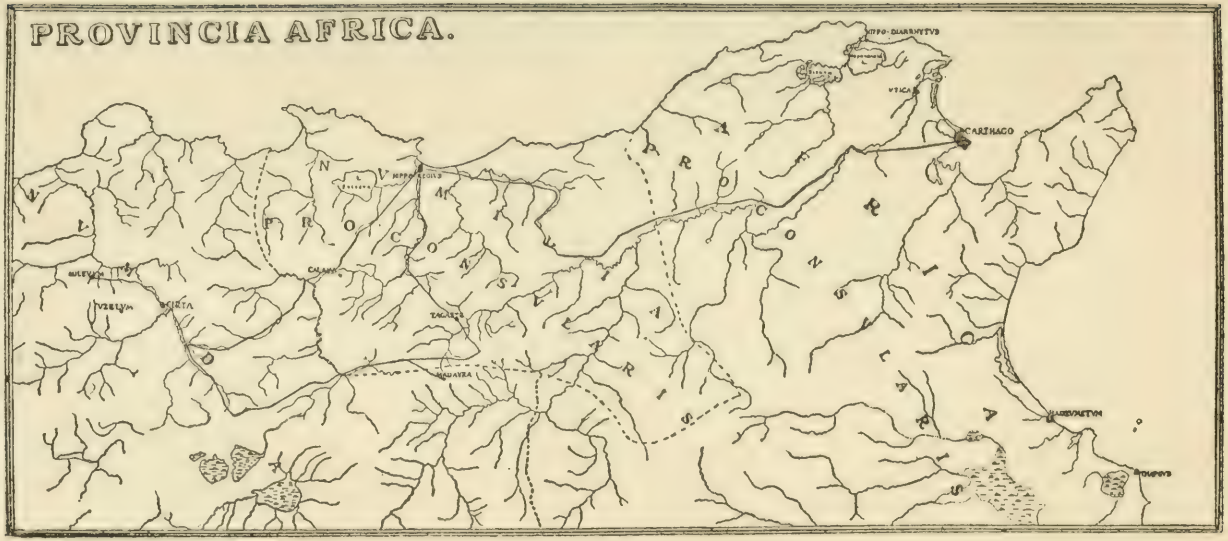
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